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639
W925s

Compare H. S. Boyd in Adam Clarke's Comm. on the Bible, at the end of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

+ Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1820 - 1841; d 1846.

SIX LETTERS

TO

GRANVILLE SHARP, ESQ.

RESPECTING

HIS REMARKS

ON

THE USES OF THE DEFINITIVE ARTICLE,

IN THE GREEK TEXT

OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D.D.

Auctoribus quidem ad istam sententiam quam vis obtineri uti optimis possumus;—et primum quidem omni antiquitate.

CICERO.

London:
Printed by J. Hodson, Cross-Street, Hatton-Garden,
FOR F. AND C RIVINGTON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD; W. H. LUNN, SOHO-SQUARE; J. COOKE, OXFORD; & J. DEIGHTON, CAMBRIDGE.

1802.

639
W925S

ADVERTISEMENT.

THESE Letters being merely *supplemental* to Mr. Sharp's *Remarks**, cannot well be understood without some knowledge of that work. The following extract will supply what is most necessary; and I make it the rather, because I understand that it is already very difficult to procure a copy of Mr. Sharp's pamphlet †.

"Rule I. *When the copulative* και *connects two nouns of the same case* [*viz. nouns (either substantive, or adjective, or participles) of personal description respecting office, dignity, affinity, or connection, and attributes, properties or qualities good or ill*] *if the article* ὁ, *or any of it's cases, precedes the first of the said nouns or participles, and is*

* "Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament; containing many new proofs of the Divinity of Christ, from passages which are wrongly translated in the common English Version, by Granville Sharp, Esq. Durham, 1798." [3d Edition London 1803 — Penes me T.A.

† Further information may be obtained by consulting the British Critic for Jan. 1800. I do not know that the work has yet been noticed by any other Review. See also Musei Oxoniensis Fasciculi secundi Londini 1797.

not

not repeated before the second noun or participle, the latter always relates to the same person that is expressed or described by the first noun or participle; i. e. it denotes a further description of the first-named person as—*και εθεραπευσεν αυτον; ωστε* ΤΟΝ *τυφλον* ΚΑΙ *κωφον και λαλειν και βλεπειν.* Matt. xii. 22. And again *Ευλογητος ὁ θεος* ΚΑΙ *Πατηρ του κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, ὁ Πατηρ των οικτιρμων* ΚΑΙ *θεος πασης παρακλησεως.* 2 Cor. i. 3. This last sentence contains two examples of the first rule. See also in 2 Cor. xi. 31, *ὁ θεος* ΚΑΙ *πατηρ του κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου οιδεν* &c. Also in Eph. vi. 21. *Τυχικος ὁ αγαπητος αδελφος* ΚΑΙ *πιστος διακονος εν κυριῳ.* Also in Heb. iii. 1, *κατανοησατε* ΤΟΝ *αποστολον* ΚΑΙ *αρχιερεα της ὁμολογιας ἡμων Ιησουν Χριστον,* &c. See also in 2 Pet. ii. 20,—*εν επιγνωσει* ΤΟΥ *κυριου* ΚΑΙ *σωτηρος Ιησου Χριστου,* &c. And again in 2 Pet. iii. 2,—*και της των αποστολων ἡμων εντολης* ΤΟΥ *κυριου* ΚΑΙ *σωτηρος.* And again in 2 Pet. iii. 18,—*Αυξανετε δε εν χαριτι και γνωσει* ΤΟΥ *κυριου ἡμων* ΚΑΙ *σωτηρος Ιησου Χριστου· αυτῳ ἡ δοξα και νυν και εις ἡμεραν αιωνος, αμην.* Also in Philippians iv. 20,—*τῳ δε θεῳ και πατρι ἡμων ἡ δοξα,* &c. In Rev. xvi. 15,—*μακαριος ὁ γρηγορων* ΚΑΙ *τηρων τα ἱματια αυτου, ἱνα μη γυμνος περιπατῃ,* &c. And in Col. ii. 2,—*εις επιγνωσιν του μυστηριου* ΤΟΥ *θεου* ΚΑΙ *πατρος και του Χριστου* *, *εν ῳ εισι παντες οἱ θησαυροι της σοφιας,* &c. And in 1 Thes. iii. 11,—*Αυτος δε ὁ θεος* ΚΑΙ *πατηρ ἡμων και ὁ κυριος ἡμων Ιησους Χριστος, κατευθυναι*

* The distinction of persons mentioned in this sentence is preserved by the insertion of the article του before χριστου, which had been omitted before πατρος.

την ὁδον ἡμων προς ὑμας. This solemn ejaculation for the divine direction is addressed jointly to the God and Father, and to our Lord Jesus; (so that here is good authority for offering up prayers to Christ, which some have lately opposed) and the distinction of the persons is preserved (as in the last example) by again inserting the article ὁ before κυριος, which had been omitted before πατηρ. The apostle James also used the same mode of expression—θρησκεια καθαρα και αμιαντος παρα τω θεω και πατρι αὑτη εστιν, επισκεπτεθαι ορφανους και χηρας εν τη θλιψει αυτων, &c. James i. 27. And there are at least a dozen other places, viz. (Rom. xv. 6. 1 Cor. xv. 24. Gal. i. 4. Ephes. v. 20. Col. i. 3, and 12. and iii. 17. 1 Thes. i. 3. 1 Thes. iii. 13. 2 Thes. ii. 16. James iii. 9. Rev. i. 6.) wherein "*the God and Father*," is mentioned exactly according to this rule; and there is no exception or instance of the like mode of expression that I know of, which necessarily requires a construction different from what is here laid down; EXCEPT the nouns be *proper names*, or *in the plural number*; in which cases there are many exceptions; though there are not wanting examples, even of plural nouns, which are expressed exactly agreeable to this rule.

"As the examples which I have annexed to my first rule consist of texts, wherein the sense is so plain, that there can be no controversy concerning the particular persons to whom the several nouns are applicable, it will be thought, I hope, that I have already cited a sufficient number of them to authenticate and justify the rule. There

There are several other texts wherein the mode of expression is exactly similar, and which therefore do necessarily require a construction agreeable to the same rule, though the present English version has unhappily rendered them in a different sense; and has thereby concealed from the mere *English* reader many striking proofs *concerning the Godhead* (περι "της Θεοληλος;" Col. ii. 9.) of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

The passages which Mr. Sharp speaks of in this last sentence, are

1. Acts xx. 28. Την εκκλησιαν του κυριου και θεου.

2. Ephesians v. 5. Εν τη βασιλεια του Χριστου και θεου.

3. 2 Thessalonians i. 12. Κατα την χαριν του θεου ήμων και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου.

4. 1 Timothy v. 21. Διαμαρτυρομαι ενωπιον του θεου και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου.

5. 2 Timothy iv. 1. Διαμαρτυρομαι ουν εγω ενωπιον του θεου και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου.

6. Titus

6. Titus ii. 13. Της δοξης του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου.

7. 2 Peter i. 1. Εν δικαιοσυνῃ του θεου ἡμων και σωτηρος Ιησου Χριστου.

8. Jude 4. Τον μονον δεσποτην θεον και κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν Χριστον.

LETTER

LETTER I.

SIR,

THE perusal of your Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament, has led me into an investigation, the result of which I am tempted to lay before you. The subject of my Letters, and the motives from which I write, will, I trust, excuse me from any further apology for the liberty which I am taking.

You will not, I think Sir, be surprized to learn, that one of the first feelings which I experienced upon the reading of your Remarks, was a feeling of uncertainty and scepticism. I soon perceived, however, that my doubts originated in the very weight and clearness of the evidence on which your theory was founded. I felt as if it were incredible, but that evidence so remarkable must have occurred, in all its strength, to learned men of former days. How then is it, that this rule should have remained so long unknown, or unacknowledged; and the important texts of the New Testament depending upon it, how is it that the vulgar translation of them

is so far from being allowed universally to be erroneous, *that* public opinion has hardly yet learned of the matter being ever doubted of; *that* the generality of commentators should uphold the established interpretation; and *that* no notice should be taken of any thing wrong in it, in works written professedly to point out the errors of our English version; and yet we are told, that the rule, and the interpretation of those *dependent* examples, were expressly asserted by a writer so long ago as Beza? Surely, said I, Mr. Sharp has only not gone so far in the investigation as earlier critics. There must be some secret fallacy: and he is producing to us as a valuable discovery, that which his predecessors, after having for a time followed it, must have found out to be an empty phantom, and so they returned from their pursuit, and sat down again, not venturing to tell the world how idly they had been occupied.

However, I did not acquiesce in these extemporaneous notions.

The first step was, to determine to make an actual comparison of your theory with the volume of the New Testament.

But, at the same time, it occurred to me, that I should probably find some at least of those texts, the translation of which you had called in question, cited and explained by the Greek Fathers; not indeed as instances of any particular rule, but expounded by them naturally as men would

would understand any other form of expression in their native language. If Mr. Sharp's rule be true, then will their interpretations of those texts be invariably in the same sense in which he understands them; unless indeed it should appear, that some change in later times took place in the use of the article.

At this instant the note of your learned Editor, in p. 19, presented itself to my observation, and I received no small encouragement from what I had before passed over with indifference. I therefore began my researches with eagerness.

In a short time what I had gathered considerably exceeded my expectations. I thought therefore, Sir, of venturing to communicate to you, in private, the produce of my search, and to mention at the same time, the feelings from which I had been induced to set about it. With this intention in view, and desirous of making my collections more worthy of such a communication, I went on still further, and finding that in some parts my materials continued to accumulate to a degree which I conceived in general there could be little idea of, the thought occurred of a yet bolder undertaking.

I considered, that your rule had *once* at least before been laid down (though less explicitly), and nevertheless the memory of such a circumstance is almost entirely forgotten. It would be inexcusable, that it should pass by a *second* time into oblivion, without having undergone

dergone the trial of a thorough investigation. May not these collections have their value in that investigation? At any rate, they may serve to attract the notice of a few towards the subject, or they may call forth an abler hand to the work; and I should be satisfied if in any way they might contribute to the putting an end to so long a train of uncertainty.

For, besides the importance of the subject as a general *philological* question, and the infinitely greater importance of those particular texts in the sacred writings thus involved with it, I found it painful in the highest degree, in a *moral* view, to observe what has obtained with regard to the interpretation of those verses now for nearly three centuries. Hundreds of writers might be reckoned up within that period, whom we should find citing and commenting upon the passages, alternately, *according* to their several pre-established notions with respect to the divine nature of our Saviour. The orthodox have occasionally applied them to their use; yet, I fear, often from no better reason, than that others had done so before them: while those of opposite sentiments have studiously contented themselves with the alleged ambiguity of expression, or else pass by the texts in mysterious and utter silence; sometimes with an air of disdain; at other times, I verily believe, with breasts full of honest apprehensions.

The thought of uniting in endeavouring to put some stop to circumstances so unfortunate as these, and so hurtful

hurtful in their consequences to all plain feelings of unadulterated reason, and singleness of heart: the thought also, that perhaps, could the interpretation of these texts come to be settled either way, some portion of those heart-burnings and controversies with which the world so often frets and is on fire, might be done away, was enough to have inflamed the ardour of one who might have much more reason to expect an opportunity of taking part in matters of importance than I could pretend to. I was in a situation not unfavourable for such an investigation. Many who might wish to satisfy their doubts in the same way in which I had sought to get rid of my own, might have no opportunity of so doing: at any rate an extensive search (and I knew that when the search is once begun, it is difficult to know how to stop) must be a work of no small time and labour. From these reasons I was emboldened to determine upon laying my collections before the public.

I may now mention distinctly, once for all, the *proper object* of these letters, and where alone I look that they should be thought of service. For though I have taken the liberty of inscribing them with your name, I cannot flatter myself, that to you, Sir, they can be in any way necessary.

But if a person, after being made acquainted with your rule, and having for some time borne it in mind during his readings in different Greek writers, should still feel some lingering doubts, in consequence of long established

tablished habit, the authority of great names, or an apprehension, to which *inductive* arguments must always in some degree be liable, that the next step there *might* rise up an exception to our general principle—if such an one, I say, should find *here* a sufficient number of quotations from the Fathers, in which the interpretation was uniformly correspondent to what your theory teaches, then probably this would appear to him the strongest imaginable confirmation, that the notion of any ambiguity in the form of expression in those verses, is a mistaken notion; and he would conclude, that the common translation must be given up, unless they who still maintain it, can produce reasons for so doing, of which we have as yet no conception.

But, on the other hand, should there turn out to be a considerable disagreement among these interpretations of the Fathers—then, I conceive, Sir, in spite of all other evidence, it will be thought that their assertion is not false, who declare the phrase to be ambiguous, these examples must be acknowledged to be remarkable exceptions to the general theory, and the vulgar translation cannot be proved to be erroneous.

This, Sir, is the purport of the following letters. Your rule is to be taken for granted as generally true: and we are to enquire into the antient interpretations of some particular examples. And, since I have already hinted, that my collections are not inconsiderable in extent, it can hardly fail, whatsoever their nature may turn out to be,

be, but that one party or the other of those who shall come hereafter to speak of these examples, will be supplied with a *second* important argument, which though occasionally glanced at, has never yet, I may venture to say, been drawn out at any length, the only form in which it was likely to produce a considerable effect.

But, it is obvious, that more than this which I have mentioned, might have been aimed at. I will just set down the sketch of a bolder *analysis*, the course of which, if it had been possible for us to have traced upwards, I fancy we might have satisfied the most sceptical examiner.

Let us suppose, in this case, that your rule is not the *ground-work* of our operations, that we have no knowledge of any such theory, but are wishing merely to satisfy ourselves of the true interpretation of six or seven verses in the New Testament.

If now, we had within our reach all that came from the hands of Christian Greek writers, from the times of the Apostles, suppose we say till the end of the sixth century, and found them during all that period, quoting and explaining those verses a competent number of times, and in one constant meaning; suppose also, that we could discover, that the interpretation was never murmured at, but admitted by certain heresies which were conceived to be particularly touched by it; suppose moreover, that within the lapse of those years, matters

matters were so changed, that at one time the orthodox would rather that the expressions could have borne another signification; and lastly, suppose that all along the same expressions as those in question, and others like them, were used perpetually, and by all parties, in that *one constant meaning*—this, I imagine, Sir, would be satisfactory; there could be no longer any doubt respecting the required translation; and if, in the ignorance of all this evidence, a different one had been adopted, or a notion entertained, that the texts might, from some supposed ambiguity in the expression, admit of two interpretations, no one would deny but that either of those errors must be renounced, and men's ideas be reformed according to the standard of the primitive authorities.

And now, if after having proceeded thus far, we were struck with a philological peculiarity, appearing not only in our few original texts, but also in all those similar expressions which we had before remarked for another purpose; and not only there, but we saw also, that through the whole language, the same peculiarity was preserved wherever two personal nouns were applied to the same individual, and there only, then, at last, we should have reached your rule, the fountain-head of all those interpretations; then might we boldly declare, that the idiom was not ambiguous; seeing that it was utterly impossible, but that such a circumstance must have been detected amid all this evidence.

However,

However, if any confirmation of our conclusion were still wanting, this would be a confirmation of it, if we should find, first, that in another language (the Latin) which did not, from its natural constitution, admit of the idiom which we had discovered, the translation of those very verses that were the subject of our original enquiries, and other verses like them, had been often confounded, and was used by different authors in different significations, according to their particular purposes, or different apprehensions of its meaning: if, again, we found, that in the translation of several compositions, from the Latin into the Greek language, by contemporary writers, this property of the article was invariably observed, so that the *very same Latin* words should be rendered *differently*, accordingly as it appeared to be the mind of the author, that they should be expressive of *one*, or *two* persons: and lastly, if besides we discovered, that among *modern* writers, when the idea of an ambiguity in the *original* was once started, it had never after been suffered to sleep again, but had been taken advantage of, and pleaded continually by the interested from the sixteenth till the nineteenth century.

It is obvious, Sir, that all this we speak of, at present, merely as an ideal picture. Whether or no we shall have been able to realize any one of its features, may be a subject of future consideration.

It is time to proceed to the mention of a few other particulars.

As it will no doubt be desirable to know to what extent my researches have been carried, I have subjoined a catalogue of authors, and of the editions which I made use of*. My examination was not conducted carelessly; but that no passage has escaped me in all the ground I have gone over, where one or other of our texts may be quoted, I am very far from pretending to assume.

All the Greek authorities, I have thought it right, for several reasons, to transcribe *at length*, though many of them, as might be expected, contain nothing upon the words which are the immediate objects of our consideration. It is plain, that in an argument like ours, it is of considerable importance, if in addition to that which is on our side, we can accumulate evidence that conveys nothing *against* us.

I had also many reasons, too obvious to need explaining, why I should not confine my enquiries *exclusively* to *Greek* authorities. My Latin catalogue, however, will not be found comparatively so copious as the Greek; neither, probably, did I always exert there precisely the same degree of vigilance.

In producing my authorities on each particular verse, the *order* which I follow is the chronological: and the writer by whose chronology I have regulated myself, I

* See Appendix, No. 6.

believe

believe *invariably*, is Cave in his Historia Literaria*. I may mention also, that I have not been always scrupulous to note whether the extract was from a genuine or spurious work; and I have introduced, for instance, under the name of Chrysostom, all that is usually published in the collection of his works. The precise date of a treatise, or its genuineness, in most cases to be attended to with superstitious scrupulousness, is in our argument, generally speaking, of very inconsiderable importance.

I do not know, Sir, that any thing farther is wanting in the way of previous explanation. In my next Letter, therefore, I shall begin immediately with the production of my authorities.

I am, Sir, &c.

* Oxford 1740, 2 vol. fol.

LETTER

LETTER II.

THE reading of the common printed editions in the text which you mention as your first example (Acts xx. 28.) being merely Θεου, and this also having been the reading which is followed by our translators, I was not willing to concern myself with that passage. If του Κυριου και Θεου can be proved to be the true reading, and my collections on all your other examples should be satisfactory, then could there be no doubt, I conceived, but that this text must follow the fortunes of the rest. But, to enquire into the evidence for that reading, would be the business of another kind of criticism from that which it was my present object to be employed in. I believe, Sir, however, that very few places would have occurred in the Fathers where I should have found the verse cited in that form. I soon neglected to search: but the only instances I have noted, are in Theophylact. Comment. in Act. p. 169 and p. 171.

Let us, therefore, proceed to the *second* example.

1. The earliest writer whom I find quoting this passage, is Clemens Alexandrinus: but the quotation being solely

solely for a *moral* purpose, nothing appears of the meaning in which he would have interpreted the words in question. I shall therefore content myself with a bare transcript of the sentence. Εϛ κορακας ἡ πορνεια· Ευ γαρ τουτο ιστε, φησιν ὁ αποστολος, ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου. (Pedagog. lib. 3. c. 4. vol. i. p. 270.) Among the early *Latin* writers our verse is cited by Tertullian, and Cyprian; but for them, as *their* testimony also is, for the same reason, equally inapplicable to our present object, I shall beg leave to refer you to the first number of my Appendix.

2. The *next* reference on my list is to St. Athanasius; or rather to a homily bearing his name, which betrays itself to be younger than the heresy of Nestorius, and which therefore must have been thrust down, perhaps a century or more, *lower* in our enumeration, had it been very necessary to pursue a strictly chronological arrangement. In compliance with our general rule, we will, if you please, give it admission here. You will observe, Sir, that we shall have occasion to recur to the passage again hereafter.

Και Παυλος εν τῃ προς Τιτον επιστολῃ οὑτως γραφει· επεφανη ἡ χαρις του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος πασιν ανθρωποις, παιδευουσα ἡμας, ἱνα αρνησαμενοι την ασεβειαν και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και δικαιως και ευσεβως ζησωμεν εν τῳ νυν αιωνι, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου

Ιησου Χριστου. Ουτος ὁ τεχθεις εκ της ἁγιας παρθενου, ὃς εστι Χριστος κυριος· τουτον τον Χριστον και κυριον, μεγαν Θεου αυτον κηρυττει, λεγων, του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Παλιν εν τη προς Ρωμαιους ουτος γραφει, ηυχομην γαρ αυτος εγω αναθεμα ειναι απο του Χριστου ὑπερ των αδελφων μου, των συγγενων μου κατα σαρκα· οἱτινες εισιν Ισραηλιται, ὡν ἡ υἱοθεσια, και ἡ δοξα, και αἱ διαθηκαι, και ἡ νομοθεσια, και ἡ λατρεια, και αἱ επαγγελιαι· ὡν οἱ πατερες, και ἐξ ὡν ὁ Χριστος το κατα σαρκα· ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος. Και παλιν ὁ αυτος Παυλος, πας πορνος και πλεονεκτης κἀι μεθυσος και ακαθαρτος και ειδωλολατρης, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ Κυριου και Θεου. Ὡστε αποδεδειχθαι τον Κυριον και Θεον ειναι, και Θεον τον Κυριον*· ει δε τουτων ουκ ανεσχη, &c. (Athanas. vol. ii. p. 413, 414.)

The text here, indeed, is not του Χριστου και Θεου, but Κυριου και Θεου. Yet, if we consider, that Κυριου is the reading (so far as is known) of no other Father, version, or manuscript, and call to mind how easily, in any single case, the abbreviated του $\overline{\chi\upsilon}$ might be converted into κυριου; moreover, when we observe, that this homily is edited by the Benedictines from a transcript (by Mill) of a *single* manuscript; and, most of all, that while, at *first sight*, the context might *appear* to *require* του κυριου, yet, in fact, του Χριστου is at least as suitable to the scope of the writer's argument, and the pertinency of his quotation (for he is encountering the dogma of the Nestorians, that our Saviour was *two distinct persons*, God and Man, and that *Jesus*, *Christ*, and *Lord*, were

* Ought not the reading here, to be, και του Θεου κυριου?

the

the names usually appropriated to the human being); there can, I think, be little doubt but that the reading which proceeded from the hand of this writer, was του Χριστου και Θεου: and, if this be granted, of the rest there can be no dispute. He evidently understood the passage agreeably to *your* explanation.

3. After this slight specimen of Grecian interpretation, we are in some degree prepared for the hearing of a body of opposite testimony; I mean from the *Latin* Fathers, whose ignorance of Greek, united with the infelicity of their own language in the want of the article, is to be deemed, I am persuaded, the principal cause of all the trouble to which you, Sir, and I, are reduced on the present occasion. You will excuse me, therefore, if I introduce them without any very lively expressions of good-will.

In the Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, among the works of St. Ambrose, the text and corresponding annotations on this passage, stand thus: "*Hoc enim scitote: quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idololatria, non habet hæreditatem in regno Dei et Christi.* Quâ causâ amovenda sint hæc ostendit, quia qui talis fuerit, partem in regno cœlorum non habebit, quod est Patris et Filii."

We will take no notice, Sir, of the unusual reading "*Dei* et *Christi*," but are willing to allow, that *our* text is here understood, as in the English translation, of *two* persons, the Son, and the Father.

In

In the first place then, this Commentary has long been universally allowed not to be the work of Ambrose. The person to whom it is now-a-days generally ascribed, but with allowances for considerable accessions by later hands, is Hilarius Diaconus. But, what is much more to our purpose, there is no doubt but that it is the work of one who was ignorant of the Greek language.

The Benedictine editors, in their address to the reader, prefixed to this treatise, urge, among others, this reason as of itself a decisive proof, that Ambrose was not the author. "Ad hæc inutile fuerit, id quod nemini non est obvium, observare, nimirum, in Græcâ linguâ prorsus peregrinum extitisse illum scriptorem." (Vol. ii, Appendix p. 20.)

This writer's testimony, therefore, so far as it is *his own*, is in our present enquiry of no value. He could not be directed, by any principle worthy of *our* consideration, to derive from his *Latin* text, an explanation, equivalent to that property of the Greek article which you are contending for. We shall hereafter see how he must have explained the passage, if he had appealed to those persons who were best qualified to instruct him in the meaning of the original.

Before we quit this Commentary, I cannot resist the temptation of transcribing (I must own with more extensive designs of hostility than that of depreciating the learning of this single writer) the following passage from Mill's

Mill's Prolegomena. He is speaking of Morinus's attempt to exalt the authority of the Vulgate, by endeavouring to shew, upon the testimony of the Latin as well as the Greek Fathers, that the original text was become exceedingly corrupt. "Quemnam vero Latinorum adducit (says Mill)? "Num Hieronymum? *Ceteri enim fere* literas Græcas *ignorabant*, ideoque nec testes erant idonei: *imo certe primo Ambrosium* (seu Hilarium Diaconum, qui sub Ambrosii nomine Commentarios edidit in Epistolas Paulinas) and having quoted, as one of these testimonies of Hilary, an instance where he pretends to refer to Greek MSS. Mill adds, "Ita cœcus de coloribus. Nihil de codicibus Græcis novit Ambrosiaster." (Sec. 1318.)

4. But, the *real* Ambrose *was* a Greek Scholar? Yes: the Benedictines found, what they account a decisive argument, solely on that supposition. Does *he* then quote this verse? And if so, *how* does he understand it?

It is most true, Sir, that the verse is made use of by Ambrose, in the same sense in which we have seen it explained by Hilary.

In the treatise de Fide, where he is demonstrating the intimate union which obtains between the Father and the Son, he instances, "Accipe adhuc unum regnum, unum imperium esse Patris et Filii. Habes ad Timotheum; (1 Tim. i. 1.) *Paulus Apostolus Jesu Christi secundum imperium Dei salvatoris nostri, et Christi Jesu spei nostræ.* Unum igitur Patris et Filii regnum evidenter

est declaratum: sicut et Apostolus Paulus adseruit dicens; *Hoc enim scitote quod omnis impudicus, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idololatria, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.* Ergo *unum regnum*, et *una Divinitas.*" (De Fide l. 3. c. 12. p. 515.)

5. Again, still more precisely; after mentioning the remark of some unthinking Arians, who were wont to maintain, that the Son is only their *lesser God*, from the circumstance of the arrangement of the *three persons* as they are disposed in the final charge of our Saviour, "*Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*" (Mat. xxviii. 19.) He proceeds to ask: "Num quid ergo quia dicit Evangelium, *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum*, inferiorem significavit Patrem, *quia primo* Verbum Dei in principio semper esse ac fuisse memoratur? Aut cum dixit Apostolus *in regno Christi et Dei, ordinem* fecit?" (De Instit. Virginis, c. 10, p. 265, vol. ii.)

What then are we to think?

I am willing, Sir, to allow that St. Ambrose had read several Greek authors, and was well acquainted with that language. However, in making this concession, we must not lay aside the remembrance, that he still understood it only as a *foreigner*.

But, I am much more inclined to insist upon the small number of Ambrose's references to the original in all his voluminous

voluminous writings. I believe that Ambrose very seldom looked into his *Greek* testament, either for his *private* satisfaction, or the purposes of *public* instruction. Speaking to, and writing for those who understood no other language than the Latin, he is contented, except in a very few instances, to confine himself to the Latin text: which indeed, in one place, he gravely informs them was a translation from a Greek original. I think, therefore, that it is exceedingly possible that Ambrose had very rarely seen the words εν τη βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και θεου· and so, forgetting (or rather never once thinking about it) *which* of the *two* meanings of the *Latin* translation was in the intention of St. Paul at the time of writing, might unsuspectingly cite the passage in that sense which is undoubtedly the more obvious to a mere Latin reader.

But it is by no means necessary that I should lay all the stress on these possibilities. The fact may be*, that like some others of the ancient Fathers, Ambrose occasionally was not strictly scrupulous about the soundness of some of the steps of his argument, provided they were specious, suitable to his purpose, and the conclusion orthodox. I mean to say (if the likelihood of his *ignorance* of the Greek text should be denied to me) that Ambrose would, upon occasion, convert a Latin passage boldly to his advantage, though he might not be ignorant that the Greek original would hardly admit of his interpretation.

* See Bishop Horsley's Tracts against Dr. Priestley, p. 348, &c.

Thus, to go no farther than the very words which I have quoted "secundum *imperium* Dei;" the *Greek* word here is επιταγην; and an *exact* writer would therefore hardly quote this passage as a *direct* example of *his* "*imperium.*" Again; in the page immediately preceding the former of the above quotations, I do not know, whether to get *another* instance of this unity of dominion in the Father and the Son, he may not invent a passage: at least I find *no other* authority for the reading. "Et ideo ad excludendum Arianæ sacrilegium sævitatis, unum imperium Patris et Filii etiam Petrus sanctus adseruit, dicens: *Sic enim abundantius ministrabitur vobis introitus in æternum imperium Dei et Domini nostri conservatoris Jesu Christi**." Here the *imperium* is proper: for the Greek word is βασιλειαν. But *Dei et Domini* is a reading peculiar to Ambrose. And yet, after all, he does not deny, but that both these appellations *may* be understood to apply to the following *Jesu Christi.* And what then, I may add, could Ambrose have replied to me, if I could have told him, that I explained the passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians, in the *same* manner?

Yet again, in his celebrated charge against the Arians, of having corrupted the MSS. by the omission of the clause *quoniam Deus Spiritus est,* in the sixth verse of the third chapter of St. John, who (in making such a charge, whether it were true or false) that was at all in the habit of referring to the Greek Testament, would not have taken care to remark, that he might be before

* 2 Peter i. 11.

hand

hand with a rising objection, that the *Greek* text was το πνευμα, Θεος; for *Deus Spiritus est* is ambiguous, and only one of its senses is at all to the purpose of Ambrose's argument; especially too, when he must know, that a little below (chap. iv. 24) there *were* the words πνευμα ὁ Θεος*?

More examples might be set down, if more were requisite, to shew, either that Ambrose seldom considered what the original text was; or if he did know it, that he was by no means loath to conceal his knowledge, when it might suit with his purpose.

Yes Sir! For this text *was* valuable in the eyes of Ambrose for its support of the orthodox faith.

6. But before we proceed, I will set down, without any remark, another instance in which our text is found in St. Ambrose. It is in his exposition on St. Luke: " Et ideo Apostolus avaritiam dicit esse fugiendam, ne impediti, more gentili, iniquitate, malitia, impudicitia, avaritia, *ad regnum Christi* pervenire nequeamus: *Omnis enim immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.*" (Vol. i. p. 1459.)

* Τι δε τουτο εστι; Καθαπερ, φησι, λεγει Πνευμα ὁ Θεος, οὑτω και ενταυθα, Πνευμα ὁ Κυριος. Αλλ' ουκ ειπε, Πνευμα ὁ Κυριος, αλλ', Ὁ Κυριος το πνευμα εστι. Πολυ δε ταυτης κακεινης της συνθηκης το μεσον. Ὁταν γαρ βουληται οὑτω λεγειν ὡς συ φης, τῳ επιθετῳ αρθρον συ προστιθησιν, αλλως δε, ιδωμεν, &c. Chrysost. Homil. 7, in 2 Cor. c. iii. v. 17.

But

But *how*, it will be asked, could Ambrose's be the favourite interpretation of the orthodox? Surely Mr. Sharp thinks that he is pleading the cause of orthodoxy, when he is contending for a directly opposite signification? Yet, Sir, I verily believe that you might have incurred some danger of being suspected of heresy, had you contended warmly for *your* interpretation, in the Latin church, ten centuries ago.

Socinianism was always a puny heresy in ancient times. A philosopher or an enthusiast now and then got puzzled, and wandered into Socinian language; or a coward apostate, in days of persecution sheltered himself from the reproaches of his brethren, in a last dishonest subterfuge; and affirmed that, in renouncing Christ, he had not denied his *God:* but these instances all were very rare. Arianism was the heresy that penetrated into the heart of the churches.

It was not, therefore, the object of the orthodox in those days, to insist upon the Scripture testimonies to the simple *Deity* of Christ. The Arian would cordially have joined with the church-man in maintaining them, in opposition to all adversaries. It was the business of the Catholic to uphold his faith by manifesting an infinite and incomprehensible union of the Son with the Father—a co-equality in the mystic unity: *or*, to *repel* the arguments of the Arians by *opposite* testimonies, and sounder interpretations. We have already seen St. Ambrose making use of our present text for *both these* purposes.

7. But,

7. But, the *general* attachment of the orthodox to the interpretation of our vulgar translation, will best be inferred from an induction of particulars. They may be had in sufficient plenty, from the days of Ambrose downwards. The three which I shall select (referring you for others to the Appendix) shall be at considerable intervals of time, to shew that the disposition was long prevalent.

Remigius in loc. p. 350. "Regnum autem Christi et Patris dixit, quia sicut est substantia Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, ita *una* est *potestas*, *una* et æternitas, *unum* regnum."

Primasius in loc. "Contra Arianos, qui dicunt, major est qui *prior* nominatur."

Anselm. Laudunens in loc. p. 286. "Christus nunc *primo* nominatur, et postea Deus, ne secundum Arianos, æstimaretur minor Patre Filius."

To these might be added, all to the same purpose, the writer of the treatise *contra Varimadum*, published under the name of Idacius Clarus, and by Chifflet assigned to Vigilius Tapsensis, in *two* places, Fulgentius, Cassiodorus, Breviarium Fidei contra Arianos; and others, it is probable, might be procured *.

8. But, did *all* the Latin writers, without exception, quote and explain the verse in *this* signification? No Sir!

* For these, and other passages, see Appendix No. 1.

not

not absolutely *all.* And little as it is that is to be found on *your* side, among those writers, I am persuaded you will agree with me in thinking, that it is more than enough to be set against all the contrary testimony which I have had the fortune to meet with.

In the first place there is Jerome—himself an host. (Vol. iv. p. 382, Commentar. in loc.) " Ad hæc videndum quid sentire voluerit, dicens *in regno Christi et Dei.* Utrumnam aliud regnum Christi sit, et aliud Dei: an idem regnum sit Patris et Filii. Et si quidem dixisset, in regno Filii et Patris, per Filium veniremus ad Patrem: et licet esset *diversitas personarum,* tamen esset regnantium una majestas; nunc vero quum dixerit, in regno Christi et Dei, ipsum Deum et Christum *(the God Christ)* intelligamus: quia et quum tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri, non erit Pater omnia in omnibus, sed Deus omnia in omnibus. Ubi autem Deus est, tam Pater quam Filius intelligi potest." I need hardly remark, Sir, that the following is the argument of this passage. There is no impropriety in calling the kingdom of heaven Christ's kingdom; for it is not written, that the *Father* in that kingdom, but that *God* shall be *all in all.* Now God is the name *common* to all the persons of the Trinity. Therefore this kingdom may be called, as it may suit the writer's purpose, the kingdom of God the Father, of God the Christ, or of God the Holy Spirit.

9. Faustinus was a contemporary of Jerome, and probably, for he spent much time in the East, familiar with the

the Greek language. It should seem, that the form of expression in the following passages, from his petition presented to the Emperor Theodosius at Constantinople, is borrowed from this text; which if it should be allowed to me, there can be no doubt of the sense in which he understood the words in question. " Suaviora habuerunt propria domicilia et possessiones, quam in regno Christi beatam et perpetuam habitationem." (p. 9). Ad capiendam utique futuram in *Dei Christi regno* perpetuam beatitudinem." (p. 12.) Again p. 54) " Optans felicissimo imperio vestro securam quietem, et *in regno Christi et Dei* perpetuam beatitudinem;" and lastly (p. 55) " et in futuro *Christi filii Dei regno* perpetuam cum sanctis beatitudinem consequamini."

10. The only remaining authority which I can produce, is out of our own Alcuin. As the whole passage is a correct translation from St. Cyril of Alexandria, I need not go about to prove that the writer was well acquainted with the Greek language. " Beatus denique Cyrillus in tractatu suo inter alia ita dicit . . . . . Nos enim famuli sumus: ille vero naturaliter Dominus et Deus, licet factus sit nobiscum, et in his quæ sunt nostra *dispensative*. Præterea et beatus Paulus Christum eum nominavit et Deum, dicens: *Scitote cognoscentes, quia omnis fornicator non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.*" (Confess. Fidei Felicis Episcopi, p. 1002. See also Concilium Aquisgranense Anno Christi 799, ap. Concil. vol. iv. p. 832.)

This, Sir, is the whole of my scanty stock of Latin authority for your interpretation.

11. Let us now, therefore, turn back to what is much more properly the subject of our enquiry—the testimony of the Greek writers: where we shall have the consolation to see, that no other interpretation than your's was ever heard in all the Greek churches*.

We deserted these writers, after having quoted a passage from a homily falsely ascribed to St. Athanasius. The next name on my list, is that of Basil the Great: But as my knowledge of his having quoted the words in question, is derived from Anastasius Sinaita; and as I do not find in Basil this quotation, where I am directed to look for it, we will pass by this authority for the present, and take it up from Anastasius, when we come to him in his order.

Let us see, therefore, what Chrysostom shall say.

* Had I been able, I should undoubtedly have been disposed to have consulted, on these texts, the several ancient versions, oriental and others—though it would have been, in some degree, an infringement on the *simplicity* of our argument. They might probably have afforded us some aid in *illustrating* and *confirming*. For instance, on the present example Mill tells us, that the Æthiopic and Arabic versions render the clause in the sense of "*the Christ and God*" (Christi Dei). But, the originals of those versions being far beyond my depth, I was not willing to appeal to their Latin translations: because, it is well known, that they are not always to be depended upon; and particularly because, for our present purpose, being usually very literal, they would still probably leave us in doubt (from the lack of the article) whether the Greek idiom were, or were not expressed in the original.—After all, the versions could only be of a very second-rate importance.

Ὁ Παυλος δε, ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστος, το κατα σαρκα, Φησιν, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος ευλογητος εις τους αιωνας, αμην. Και παλιν· πας πορνος ἡ πλεονεκτης ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου. Και παλιν· κατα την επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Ιωαννης δε οὑτως αυτον καλει, λεγων· εν αρχῃ ην ὁ λογος, και ὁ λογος ην προς τον Θεον, και Θεος ην ὁ λογος. (De Incomprehensibili Dei Naturâ, Homil. 5. vol. i. p. 483.) This is sufficiently express.

12. The passage is quoted again by Chrysostom, (Homil. in loc. vol. xi. p. 126) but without determining any thing for our purpose.

The words which comprise the little that he gives there of direct interpretation on the passage, are at the beginning of the Homily, and stand thus.

Ησαν, ὡς εοικε, τινες και επι των προγονων των ἡμετερων, οἱ τας χειρας εκλυοντες του λαου, και το παρα του Ιεζεκιηλ ειρημενον εις εργον αγοντες, μαλλον δε τα των ψευδοπροφητων ποιουντες· (Ezech xiii. 19.) οἱ δρακος κριθων εκφαυλιζοντες τον Θεον ενωπιον του λαου αυτου. ὁ δη και νυν οιμαι παρα τινων γενεσθαι. Ὁταν ουν ειπωμεν, ὁτι ὁ μωρον καλεσας τον αδελφον, εις γεενναν απερχεται, αλλοι φασι· ναι, ὁ μωρον καλεσας τον αδελφον εις γεενναν απερχεται; ουχι, Φησι· και ὁταν ειπωμεν, ὁτι ὁ πλεονεκτης ειδωλολατρης εστι, και τουτο παλιν εκφαυλιζουσι, λεγοντες ὑπερβολης ειναι το ῥημα· και παρας οὑτω τας εντολας εξευτελιζουσι. Τουτους ουν αινιττομενος ὁ μακαριος Παυ-

λος, και τοτε εγραφεν Εφεσιοις, ούτω λεγων· τουτο γαρ ιστε γινωσκοντες, ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τη βασιλεια του Χριστου και Θεου· ειτα επαγει, μηδεις ὑμας εξαπατατω κενοις λογοις; κενοι εισιν ούτοι οἱ λογοι, οἱ προς καιρον χαριν εχοντες, and so on.

Neither is there any thing to be gathered from the remainder of the homily.

13. The two following passages of Asterius are equally indeterminate.

Ειπε και τους αποκληρονομους. Παυλος λεγει· ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τη βασιλεια του Χριστου και Θεου. Και ποῖε ἡ κληρονομια; εις το τελος. (Asterii Homil. ii. in Psalm 5. apud Cotelerii Eccles. Græcæ Monumenta, vol. ii. p. 18.)

14. Ὡς εμαθεν ὁ Δαβιδ, ὁτι ανδρα αἱματων, και δολιον βδελυσσεται κυριος, (Psal vi. v. 7.) αυτος δε δολῳ τον Ουριαν ανειλεν, και ὁτι πας πορνος η ακαθαρτος ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τη βασιλεια του Χριστου και Θεου, ἱνα μη αποκληρονομος δια τὸ αγος γενηται, τον ὑπερ της ογδοης, και της των νεκρων αναστασεως ψαλλων παρεκαλει. (Ibid. p. 50. Homil. in psal. 6.)

15. We shall meet with better success in Cyrillus Alexandrinus. In his Thesaurus (under the title Εκλογαι ῥητων μετα συλλογισμων εκ της καινης διαθηκης, ὁτι Θεος

Θεος κατα Φυσιν ὁ υἱος, ει δε τουτο, ου ποιημα, ουδε κτισμα—see p. 267) after quoting the verse he immediately continues: Ιδου παλιν Χριστον ονομασας ευθυς αυτον εισφερει και Θεον, ὡς του Θεου και Πατρος εν αυτῳ βασιλευοντος, αυτου τε αυ παλιν εν τῳ Πατρι. Κατα το παρ' αυτου λεγομενον, ὡς προς τον Πατερα, ὁτι παντα τα εμα σα εστι, και τα σα εμα. Ἑν δε των παντων ἡ βασιλεια, κοινη μεν υἱῳ προς πατερα, κοινη δε πατρι προς υἱον, συμβασιλευοντος δηλαδη του ἁγιου πνευματος. Πως ουν ποιημα, ὁ βασιλευων εν Πατρι, και μετα Πατρος Θεος Λογος; (Thesaur. vol. v. p. 283.)

16. Again, in the sixth of the Dialogues de Trinitate (vol. v. p. 611.) Α. Τι δε δη και μαθων ὁ των θειων ἡμιν μυστηριων ἱερουργος, Θεου βασιλειαν ωνομαζε την Χριστου; γραφει γαρ ὡδε· Τουτο γαρ ιστε γινωσκοντες, ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου. Ενδοιασαιμι γαρ αν ουδαμως, ὡς ὁτῳ περ αν ενυπαρχοι φυσικον αξιωμα, το χρηναι κραλειν, ἑψεται που και παντως αυτῳ, και το δειν ειναι Θεον. Η ουχ ὡδε ταυτ' εχειν νοησομεθα αν, ὡ Ερμεια; Β. Πανυ μεν ουν. ειη γαρ αν ειπερ ὁλως Θεος παντως που και βασιλευς. Α. Ειπερ ουν αρα καταλιξει ποτε της του βασιλευειν ευκλειας, απολισθησειεν αν και του ειναι Θεος. και ζωη μεν η Φως, ουκ ετι. σιωπω δε το ατοπον. Τις ουν αν ειη λοιπον ἡ του υἱου Φυσις; θεοτητος τε και βασιλειας, και του ειναι Φως απημφιεσμενη, και ζωοποιειν ουκ εχουσα το ζωης τητωμενον;— Cyril is in this passage employed in refuting the objection which is made to the original dignity of Christ's person,

person, from the circumstance of St. Paul's speaking of his delivering up "the kingdom to God, even the Father." (1 Cor. xv. 24.) To remove this objection, and to shew that *Christ's* kingdom shall have no end, he argues that St. Paul, in this passage to the Ephesians applies the name of God to Christ, *on account* of that dominion. If then he shall cease to be king, he will be no longer God: neither can he be any more the everlasting light and life. The whole reasoning, therefore, is *built* upon this supposition, that Christ is here called God.

17. Again: Οικεται γαρ ἡμεις, ὁ δε κατα Φυσιν κυριος και Θεος, καν ει γεγονε μεθ' ἡμων, και εν τοις καθ' ἡμας, οικονομικως. Ταυτη τοι και ὁ μακαριος Παυλος, Χριστον αυτον ωνομαζε και Θεον, οὑτω λεγων· Τουτο γαρ εστε γινωσκοντες ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τη βασιλεια του Χριστου και Θεου. Ουκουν οἱ μεν αλλοι παντες, ὡς εφην, ειεν αν και μαλα εικοτως, δια το κεχρισθαι Χριστοι, μονος δε Χριστος και Θεος αληθινος, ὁ Εμμανουηλ. (Vol. v. part ii. p. 7. of the Epistles.) This is the passage which we have already seen cited in Alcuin (No. 10 above.)

18. From the two following examples, which will finish what I have to say at present upon Cyril, I will not pretend to claim more, than that it should be granted that they contain nothing *contrary* to your interpretation.

The first is in the Thesaurus, under the title Ὁτι βασιλευς εστιν ὁ του Θεου υἱος. But as this is merely a transcript

script of the text, without any *further* comment, I shall spare myself the trpuble of an extract. (See vol. v. part i. p. 381.)

19. The other is as follows: Καταθλησωμεν της σαρκος· καθαρισωμεν ἑαυτους απο παντος μολυσμου· μνημονευσωμεν της θειας λεγουσης γραφης, πορνεια δε και ακαθαρσια πασα και πλεονεξια μηδ' ονομαζεσθω εν ὑμιν καθως πρεπει ἁγιοις· και αισχροτης, και μωρολογια, η ευτραπελια ἁ ουκ ανηκοντα· αλλα μαλλον ευχαριστια· τουτο γαρ. ισθε γινωσκοντες ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου. Και παλιν—He then quotes Rom. viii. v. 12, 13, 14. and proceeds—γραφομεθα γαρ εν τεκνοις Θεου, της εν Χριστῳ πολιτειας το καλλος ταις ἑαυτων διανοιαις εισοικισαμενοι, και δια των εις ευσεβειαν σπουδασματων προς αυτον ευ μαλα διαμορφουμενοι. Ὁτε τοινυν ἡμιν οἱ της ακηραιου Φυσεως χαρακτηρες ελλαμπουσι, γεγραμμεθα δε και εν τεκνοις Θεου, και αδελφοτητα πεπλουτηκαμεν, την προς γε Φημι τον των ὁλων παμβασιλεα Χριστον. (De Fest. Paschal. Homil. 26. vol. v. part ii. p. 304.)

20. Theodoret's testimony to *your* interpretation is no less explicit than that of Cyril.

Και μεντοι τῳ μεσῳ της επιστολης Ιουδαιων μνημονευσας, επηγαγεν; ὡν οἱ πατερες, εξ ὡν ὁ Χριστος το κατα σαρκα, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος ευλογητος εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων· Αμην. (Rom. ix. 5.) Και τον αυτον κατα σαρκα

μεν

μεν εξ Ιουδαιων εφη καταγειν το γενος, αιωνιον δε ειναι θεον, και παντων ὁμου των γεννητων δεσποτην, παρα των ευγνωμονων, ὑμνουμενον. Την αυτην δε ἡμιν διδασκαλιαν προσηνεγκεν και δι' ὡν τῳ θαυμασιῳ γεγραφε Τιτῳ. Προσδεχομενοι γαρ, φησι, (Tit. ii. 13.) την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ἰησου Χριστου· και τον αυτον και σωτηρα, και μεγαν Θεον, και Ιησουν Χριστον προσηγορευσε. Και αλλαχου· εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου. Και μεντοι και τοις ποιμεσιν ὁ των αγγελων εφη χορος (Luke ii. 11.) ιδου κηρυττεται ὑμιν σημερον, &c. (Epist. 146. vol. iii. p. 1034.)

21. Again, to the same meaning, but with a slight variation in the reading; which, however, one may affirm, did not originate in any such cause as that of a purpose of *accommodating* the passage to his service: Οτι γαρ πολλαχου Θεὸν τον υἱον ονομαζει, (he is speaking of St. Paul) ῥαδιον εκ των αυτου γραμματων καταμαθειν τον βουλομενον. Προσδεχομενοι γαρ φησι, την επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ἰησου Χριστου· και, εξ ὡν ὁ Χριστος, το κατα σαρκα, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος· και, εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ Χριστου του Θεου· και μυριαι τοιαυται ἑτεραι. (vol. iii. p. 158. Comment. in Epist. 1 ad Cor. c. viii. v. 6.) Here Χριστου του Θεου is carelessly and unsuspectingly put down as the equivalent expression to του Χριστου και Θεου.

22. The following is what Theodoret writes on this verse, in his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles.

It

It determines not any thing.

Τουτο γαρ εστε γινωσκοντες ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου. Τουτο και εν τῃ προς Κορινθιους επιστολῃ. (1 Cor. vi. 9 and 10.) Ειδωλολατρειαν δε την πλεονεξιαν εκαλεσε, κατα την του Κυριου φωνην· ουδεις γαρ, εφη, δυναται δυσι κυριοις δουλευειν· και, ου δυνασθε Θεῳ δουλευειν και Μαμμωνᾳ. Μηδεις ὑμας εξαπατατω, &c. (vol. iii. p. 312.)

23. Neither is my fourth and last reference to Theodoret more determinate.

After quoting Ephes. iv. 17—22, he proceeds, Και μετ' ολιγα· τουτο γαρ εστε γινωσκοντες ὁτι πας πορνος, η ακαθαρτος, η πλεονεκτης ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου. Ταυτα και Φιλιππησιοις επεστειλε. Το λοιπον (c. iv. 8.) αδελφοι, ὁσα εστιν αληθη, ὁσα σεμνα, &c. (Vol. iv. p. 312, De Fornicatione.)

24. In the *Quæstiones* of Anastasius, under the title, Του αγιου Βασιλειου εκ των ασκητικων, we have the following passage: Ακουσωμεν δε του αποστολου λεγοντος· Μη πλανασθε, ουτε πορνοι, ουτε ειδωλολατραι, ουτε μοιχοι, ουτε μαλακοι, ουτε αρσενοκοιται, ου μεθυσοι, ουχ ἁρπαγες βασιλειαν Θεου κληρονομησουσι. (1 Cor. vi. 9.) Και παλιν· Πας πορνος, η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης, η ακαθαρτος, ουκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τῃ βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου του Θεου

ὑμων. Μηδεις ὑμας απατατω κενοις λόγοις; &c. From whatever author the above may be taken (for I have already mentioned, that if this part of the section be in Basil, it has eluded my search) I think there can be no doubt of his being a consistent evidence for your interpretation; and that we have only to regret the carelessness and want of exactness so frequent in quotations, and which, in the present instance, is not confined merely to the words about which we are chiefly interested.

25. Our verse is again cited in the 146th page of the same work, under the 12th question, the title of which is, Τι εστιν ὁ Μαμωνας της αδικιας. The passage is as follows: Και, τουτο γαρ εστε γινωσκοντες ὁτι πας πορνος η ακαθαρτος η πλεονεκτης, ὁς εστιν ειδωλολατρης, ὁυκ εχει κληρονομιαν εν τη βασιλεια του Χριστου και Θεου. The context, as well as the title of the question, sufficiently teaches us not to look in this place for any thing of doctrinal interpretation.

26. In the short Comment or Scholia of Jo. Damascenus * on St. Paul, he writes thus upon the 5th and 6th verses. Μη νομιζητε, φησιν, απο του βιου τη πιστει μη συμπαροντος, την πιστιν ὑμας μετοχους αποφαινειν της Χριστου βασιλειας, ἡτις εστι του Θεου βασιλεια· μηδε τις απατατω κενῳ λογῳ, ὡς πιστεως αληθους ουσης εν τοις πα-

* This Commentary is published for the first time, in the last edition of the works of Damascenus, and from a single manuscript. See the Admonitio prefixed. Of this manuscript the Editor says "Hoc solum monebo..... quin et codicem multis passim mendis scatere mutilumque esse, ut sensus sæpe impervius sit et obscurus."

ρανομως

ρανοιως βιουτι, και σωζειν αυτους δυναμενης, εφ' οις οργιζεται κατα του κοσμου Θεος. (Vol. ii. p. 189.) This passage is obscure from its extreme brevity. It might almost seem, that the interpretation was meant to be contradictory of your's. I fancy, however, that no more is intended, than what may correspond with the words of St. Cyril given above (No. 16). Τι δε δη μαθων . . . . Θεου βασιλειαν ωνομαζε την Χριστου.

27. The remarks on this passage, in the Commentaries which go under the names of Oecumenius and Theophylact, being derived almost entirely from what I have transcribed above out of Chrysostom, are as silent as he is upon the meaning of the words in question. (Oecumenius p. 46. vol. ii. Τουτο γαρ ισθι) Ησαν ισως τινες παρ' αυτοις οι λεγοντες ὁτι φοβηται θελων ὁ Θεος ταυτα απηγορευσε τα εκτελη· η και εξεφαυλιζον τα τοιαυτα, ουχ ικανα οντα εις γε ενναν εμβαλειν, οια και νυν γινεται. Τι γαρ, φασι, το ατοπον, ει ειπων, Μωρε, ενοχος γεννηται γεεννης; και πως ἡ πλεονεξια, ειδωλολατρεια; Τουτους ουν αινιττεται ὁ Αποστολος, δηλοι γαρ ἡ επαγωγη· μηδεις ὑμας εξαπατατω, φησι, κενοις λογοις, κενοις δε τοις μη εχουσι, &c.

28. Theophylact, p. 550. Ησαν τινες ὡς εοικεν, οι λεγοντες παρ' Εφεσιοις, ὁτι φοβηται θελων ὁ Θεος ταυτα απηγορευσε τα ευτελη. Τι γαρ ατοπον το ειπειν, Μωρε, ἱνα ενοχος γενηται γεεννα ὁ ειπων; πως δε ὁ πλεονεκτης ειδωλολατρης; Τουτους ουν αινιττεται ὁ Αποστολος· δηλοι δε και ἡ επαγωγη· Μηδεις ὑμας εξαπατατω κενοις, &c.

29. The last Greek authority, which I have met with, is that of Euthymius Zigabenus; who has transcribed into his Panoplia Dogmatica, the passage which we have given above (No. 15) from Cyrillus Alexandrinus. It may be found fol. 62 B. of the Latin translation.

30. Let us now review, for a moment, the ground over which we have passed. We have referred to *twenty-one* Greek passages in which the words εν τη βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου are quoted. Of these we consider *twelve* (viz. the passages in Nos. 1, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28) as determining nothing either way with respect to the meaning of those particular words: But then we observe, that it is not *for* the sake of those words that their quotations are made. The remaining nine (viz. Nos. 2, 11, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 29) are with one voice, clear testimonies for your interpretation. That is, in fact, *all* the Greek authorities that do speak at all are on your side.

Of the *Latin* writers we refer to something more than *thirty* passages, *sixteen* of which we consider as *significant* testimonies (viz. Nos. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, three in No. 7, No. 10, and in the Appendix, Nos. 6, 7, 16, 17, 21, 24, 25.) And of these *sixteen* we may perhaps claim *three* (viz. Nos. 8, 9, 10) to your side; the rest are plainly against you.

It is to be remarked, however, that such is the nature of those *three*, that were we to determine the true sense of

of the Greek *merely* from Latin interpreters, they ought, perhaps, to be accounted of as much value as all the rest put together.

The Latins, if they confined themselves solely to their own text (and it is a known fact, that few of them *could* pass beyond it) must, from the natural order of the words almost necessarily have been led to that interpretation which we find they have adopted. And, to account for the *frequency* of their quoting this verse, we have seen, that *their* interpretation was valuable to them in controversy. Now, the Greeks also (if we for a moment exclude your rule, and suppose the passage to be as *ambiguous* to them, as it is undoubtedly in the Latin) were actuated by the *same two* inducements to have abounded in the same interpretation. For, *first, the order* of the words is the same. And *secondly*, they would (as might easily be shewn*) have been equally glad to have availed themselves

* Thus, for instance, the title of the 21st section of the Treatise, "De Communi essentia Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti," among the works of Athanasius (vol. ii.) is Ὅτι προτατττεται του Πατρος ὁ Υἱος. Also Chrysostom on 2 Thessal. xi. 16. Που νυν εισιν οἱ τον Υἱον ελαττουντες, επειδη μετα του Πατερα εν τῃ χαριτι του λουτρου ονομαζεται; Ἰδου γαρ ενταυθα τουναντιον εστιν. Αυτος (φησι πρωτον) ὁ κυριος ἡμων Ιησους Χριστος, ειτα, ὁ Θεος και πατηρ του κυριου ἡμων, ὁ αγαπησας, κ. τ. ἑξ. (Vol. xi. p 532.) And, on the same verse, Theodoret (p. 389, vol. 3.) Και ταυτα δε την Αρειου και Ευνομιου βλασφημιαν ελεγχει, και διδασκει σαφως, ὡς ουδε ἡ ταξις των ονοματων διαφοραν αξιωματων δηλοι, τον γαρ Υἱον ενταυθα προεταξε του Πατρος, κ. τ. ἑξ. See also Theophylact and Oecumenius on the same text. Again Oecumenius on Galat. i. 1. Δια Ιησου Χριστου και Θεου πατρος. Σημειωσαι το, δια, επι πατρος καὶ υἱου κειμενον, και πρωτον τον υἱον ονομασθεντα (vol. i. p. 719.) And to mention no more, Theophylact on another

themselves of a verse which should have supplied them with those doctrinal topics which were, by the Latin church, derived from the clause in question. How then, we mean to ask, did it happen, that no Greek ever adopted that interpretation?

To us, therefore, the question becomes this: Shall we take the explanation of a Greek passage from Greeks, or prefer, from Latin writers, not the explanation of the Greek, but of a *translation* of it into their language; which translation, though capable of *both* meanings, and so originally not a false translation, would much more naturally lead men to that sense which is contradictory of the common Grecian idiom, and the uniform voice of Grecian interpreters?

I fancy, Sir, in fine, we may safely conclude, that our English translation of this verse, we have inherited, *solely* from the Latin text, and from the Latin interpreters.

I am, Sir, &c.

other passage (1 Cor. xii. 6.) Ὁρα δε πως του Πνευματος εμνησθη πρωτον, τελευταιον δε του Πατρος, δια τους την ταξιν περιεργαζομενους. Thus far, as to the *precedency* in *naming*. The following may suffice with respect to the community of operation. Athanasius de Communi Essentia, &c. sect 35. Ὁτι μια εξουσια και δυναμις και Βασιλεια και θεοτης του Πατρος και Υιου. Theodoret on Romans, Chap. i. 7. Χαρις ὑμιν και ειρηνη απο Θεου Πατρος ἡμων, και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου. Δι' ὡν ἡμας εδιδαξεν ακτικεις πατερας και υἱου την ισοτητα. (Vol. iii. p. 13.) Theophylact on Galat. c. i. v 1. . . . . Αλλα δια Ιησου χριστου, και Θεου Πατρος, του εγειραντος αυτον εκ νεκρων. Και μην αἱ Πραξεις ὑπο του Πνευματος δηλουσιν αυτον αφορισθηναι εις την αποστολην· δηλον ουν, ὁτι μια εξουσια Υἱου, και Πνευματος, και Πατρος (p. 439.). And Oecumenius on St. James, i. 1. Θεου μεν Πατρος, Κυριου δε του Υἱου, ὡστε ει εξ ισου Πατρος και Υἱου δουλος, ὁμοτιμος εστι τῳ Πατρι και ὁ Υἱος, και κατ' ουσιαν, και κατ' ενεργειαν.

LETTER III.

SIR,

ON your next example (2 Thess. i. 12.) my references are few; so few, that at the most, I have not more than *one* quotation, exclusive of those which are derived from the regular commentators: and so *indeterminate*, that in all which I can produce, there is not one of the passages which is decisive, either way, with respect to the required interpretation.

We must beware, however, of laying too much stress on this *lack* of evidence, and by no means immediately regard it as a strong presumption, that the verse cannot be a testimony to the Divinity of our Saviour, merely because we do not find, that it has been ordinarily cited as such by the ancient Fathers.

The *nature* of those heresies which produced almost all the polemical writings of the ancient Church which are now extant, is sufficient to teach us not to look *there* particularly, for arguments in behalf of Christ's mere Divinity *. In the controversies of those days it would have been of little use to produce passages of Scripture

* Gregor. Nyssen. contra Eunom. vol. ii. p. 265. Ὅτι γαρ και προφηται Θεον ὁμολογουσι τον Κυριον και ευαγγελισται, και μαθηται, και αποστολοι, ουδεις ουτω των θειων αμυητος, ὡς λογῳ δυσθαι περι τουτων μαθειν.

which

which spake of Christ as God, and did not withal convey something respecting the proper nature and dignity of his person. It is those places where it is written "In the *beginning* was the Word"; where he is called the "God over all, blessed for ever," (Rom. ix. 5.) "the great God and our Saviour," (Tit. ii. 13.) "the true God, and eternal life," (1 John v. 20.) which were *then* of especial importance, and are accordingly perpetually insisted upon.

1. I do not find our present verse in any writer earlier than St. Chrysostom.

In the Homilies on this Epistle, the following is the whole of what he writes on the 12th verse.

Ορα· ειπεν εκει (i. e. in the 10th verse) δοξαν· ειπε και ενταυθα ειπεν ὁτι αυτοι δοξαζονται, ὡστε και καυχασθαι. ειπεν, ὁ πολλῳ πλεον ην, ὁτι και τον Θεον δοξαζουσιν. ειπεν ὁτι απολημψονται την δοξαν εκεινην· αλλα και ενταυθα φησι. του γαρ δεσποτου δοξαζομενου, και οἱ δουλοι δοξαζονται, οἱ γαρ τον δεσποτην δοξαζοντες, πολλῳ μαλλον αυτοι δοξάζονται, και τουτῳ αυτῳ, και χωρις τουτου, δοξα γαρ εστιν ἡ θλιψις ἡ δια Χριστον, και πανταχου δοξαν το πραγμα καλει, και ὁσῳ αν ατιμον τι παθωμεν, τοσουτῳ μαλλον γινομεθα λαμπροι. ειτα παλιν δεικνυς ὁτι και τουτο αυτο του Θεου εστι, φησι, κατα την χαριν του Θεου ἡμων και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου· τουτεστι, ταυτην την χαριν ἡμιν αυτος εδωκεν ὁ Θεος, ἱνα δοξαζηται εν ἡμιν, και δοξαζῃ ἡμας εν αυτῳ. πως δοξαζεται εν ἡμιν; ὁτι ουδεν αυτου προτιμωμεν· πως δοξαζομεθα εν αυτῳ; ὁτι δυναμιν ειληφαμεν παρ,

παρ' αυτου ὡστε μηδε ενδιδοναι τοις επαγομενοις δεινοις· ὁμου γαρ ὁταν πειρασμος συμβῃ, και ὁ Θεος δοξαζεται, και ἡμεις. αυτον μεν γαρ δοξαζουσιν, ὁτι οὑτως ἡμας ενευρωσεν· ἡμας δε θαυμαζουσιν, ὁτι αξιους ἑαυτους παρεσκευασαμεν· παντα δε ταυτα απο της χαριτος του Θεου γινεται. Ερωτωμεν δε ὑμας, αδελφοι, ὑπερ, &c*. (Homil. iii. in secund. Epist. ad Thessalonic. vol. xi. p. 524.)

I have designedly given this extract at considerable length, chiefly to save myself from much further trouble in writing, and you, Sir, in reading. I have already observed, that it is not in my power to produce any thing of direct and express testimony, on *either* side, respecting the interpretation of this text in the Epistle to the Thessalonians. Whatever therefore is to be gathered from my references, can only be by a comparison of the comment with the original, of the parts of each extract

* A passage or two from the same volume, may, at least, save us from misapprehending the above. In Homily III. on the 1st Epistle to Timothy, we have the following: Χαριν εχω τῳ ενδυναμωσαντι με Χριστῳ Ιησου τῳ κυριῳ ἡμων, ὁτι πιστον με ἡγησατο θεμενος εις διακονιαν. (1 Tim. i. 12.) Ὁρας πως πανταχου το ἑαυτου κατορθωμα κρυπτει, και το παν ανατιθησι ΤΩΙ ΘΕΩΙ, αλλ' επι τοσουτον, ἐφ' ὁσον το αυτεξουσιον μη λυμηνασθαι; (p. 562.) Again, a little below: Ὁρα γαρ τι φησι. Χαριν εχω τῳ ενδυναμωσαντι με Χριστῳ Ιησου. Τουτο ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ, εἰτα παλιν, το αυτου, Ὁτι πιστον με ἡγησατο. See also Oecumenius and Theophylact on the same passage. Again, Chrysostom (p. 678.) on 2 Tim. ii. 1.) Ει τεκνον ει, ενδυναμου οἱς ειπον· μαλλον δε, ουκ απο των δογματων μονον, αλλα και απο της χαριτος του ΘΕΟΥ. ενδυναμου γαρ φησιν, εν τῃ χαριτι τῃ εν ΧΡΙΣΤΩΙ ΙΗΣΟΥ. τουτεστι, δια της χαριτος του Χριστου. See also p. 724—725. In like manner Oecumenius on Rom. c. xvi. v. 20. vol. 1. p. 412. Ἡ χαρις του κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου μεθ' ὑμων. Ανεμησεν αυτους της του ΘΕΟΥ χαριτος, της αει σωσασης.

among themselves, and from a review of all the extracts taken together.

Now, were any one, in such a case, to set about making the necessary remarks in writing, and to undertake to point out, and estimate all the particulars upon which a just decision must depend, he would undoubtedly be carried on to a length which must be very irksome: and after all, he could not hope to convey half of what will be readily perceived in a perusal of the passages themselves, with a moderate degree of attention. Philological probabilities are generally too subtle to be appreciated, and explained by words. They must be *felt;* they cannot be *described.* In no part of science is it more difficult to procure assent from the ignorant, or the wilful: while in none do remarks seem so tedious and impertinent to those who do not need them.

I shall hope, therefore, to be pardoned, if, through the remainder of this Letter, I produce little more than bare extracts.

2. Theodoret is my next testimony.—This is the whole of what he writes on the 11th and 12th verses:

Τουτου δη χαριν αντιβολουμεν τον των ὁλων θεον, ὡστε ὑμας αξιωθενΐας της κλησεως παντων εμφορηθηναι των αγαθων ωστε ὑμας και τους της πιστεως βλαστησαι καρπους. εργον δε πιστεως ενταυθα την εν τοις παθημασιν ὑπομονην προσηγορευσεν· οὑτω γαρ, φησι, και αυτος εν ὑμιν δοξασθησεται, και ὑμεις αυτῳ της μελλουσης κοινωνησετε δοξης· οὑτω τῃ ελπιδι

των

των μελλοντων ψυχης ηγησας αυτους, ως την τας ουτω λεγειν διδασκαλιαν μετεχειν. (Vol. iii. p. 883. Comment. in Loc.) Still we may say, at least, that nothing appears *against* us.

3. My next quotation is from the Scholia of Joannes Damascenus.

Ομοιον τω ειρημενω υπο του Κυριου. Λαμψατω το φως υμετερον εμπροσθεν των ανθρωπων, οτως ιδωσι τα καλα εργα υμων, και δοξαζωσι τον πατερα υμων τον εν τοις ουρανοις. (Matt. v. 16.) Και τουτο δεικνυσιν εκ της χαριτος εχοντας του Θεου, το δυνασθαι τοσουτους γενεσθαι εν εργοις λαμπροις, καν γαρ τις η τελειος, φησι, εν υιοις ανθρωπων, της απο σου (Forte θεου) λειπομενος σοφιας, εις ουδεν, λογισθησεται. Ερωτωμεν δε υμας, &c. (Vol. ii. p. 223.) This comprehends the *whole* of his remarks on the 12th verse.

4. But, perhaps, I have nothing to offer so much to your purpose, as my next authority. It is the conclusion of the 121st of the Discourses of Theodorus Studites. These Discourses having never, as far as I know, been printed in the original Greek, I can appeal only to the Latin translation.

" Quod superest, sanctus Deus tum cum," (he is speaking of one whom he calls Brother Socrates, then lately dead) " tum nos conservet, omnique impleat benefica voluntate, ac præpotente fidei propagatione, illus-

trando per nos Domini nostri Jesu Christi nomine, nobisque per eum, secundum gratiam Dei Dominique nostri Jesu Christi, cui gloria et imperium cum Patre, ac Sancto Spiritu, nunc, et semper, in omnemque perpetuitatem. Amen." (p. 275.)

But, may we not be allowed to hazard a *conjecture*, that the latter part of the original bears something like the following form?—Οπως ενδοξασθῃ (or ὡστε ενδοξασθηναι) το ονομα του Κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου εν ἡμιν, και ἡμεις (or ἡμας) εν αυτῳ, κατα την χαριν του Θεου ἡμων και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου, ᾧ ἡ δοξα και το κρατος συν Πατρι, και ἁγιῳ πνευματι νυν, και αει, και εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων. Αμην.

There are therefore *two* questions; both of which, I presume, are to be answered in the *affirmative*. "Does this writer quote the Epistle to the Thessalonians?" And *secondly*, "Does he not understand the words του θεου ἡμων και κυριου, of *one* Person, even Jesus Christ?" For, does he not use them, just as St. Cyril of Jerusalem writes, χαριτι και Φιλανθρωπια του κυριου και θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· ᾧ ἡ δοξα και το κρατος, συν τῳ Πατρι, και τῳ ἁγιῳ πνευματι εις τους αιωνας, των αιωνων. (p. 321) just as St. Basil uses, δια της δικαιοσυνης του θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, ᾧ ἡ δοξα και το κρατος, εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων. Αμην. (Vol. ii. p. 130.) or as St. Gregory—εις καυχημα ὑμιν εν ἡμερᾳ της επιφανειας και ἀποκαλυψεως του μεγαλου θεου και αρχιποιμενος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, δι' ου και μεθ' ου ἡ δοξα

δοξα πατρι παντοκρατορι, συν τω ἁγιῳ και ζωοποιῳ πνευματι, και νυν, και εις τους αιωνας των αιωνων. Αμην. (Greg. Naz. vol. i. p. 145.)

5. Oecumenius and Theophylact, my *last* authorities, are as usual, only the counterpart of St. Chrysostom.

Ὁπως ενδοξασθῃ το ονομα του κυριου. Ει γαρ ταυτα γενηται (φησιν), ὡσπερ εν τοις ἁγιοις αυτου ενδοξασθησεται ὁ θεος, καθως ανω ειπεν, οὑτως και εν ὑμιν. δοξαζεται γαρ, καθως και ανω ειπομεν, τοιουτων ἀξιων τους δουλους αυτου· και αυτοις δε δοξα εσται το τοιουτων ηξιωσθαι. η οὑτως νοησον, ει πληρωσει το εργον της πιστεως ὑμων εν δυναμει, τουτεστιν, εν ὑπομονῃ πειρασμων, δοξασθησεται ὁ θεος εν ὑμιν, ὁτι δυνατους κατεστησε προς τουτο, και ενευρωσε, και ὑμεις εν τῳ θεῳ, ὁτι ἀξιους εδειξατε ἑαυτους της θειας αγαπης και επικουριας. Κατα την χαριν του Θεου ἡμων. Χαρις γαρ παντα ταυτα Χριστου. ου γαρ ἡμεις, φησι, προς ταυτα εσμεν ἱκανοι η ἀξιοι, αλλ' ἡ χαρις αυτου δι' ἡμων παντα κατορθοι. Ερωτωμεν δε ὑμας, &c. (Comment. in loc. vol. ii. p. 192.) That this passage may not be dismissed without all comment, let me observe, that the place to which he refers in the words καθως και ανω ειπομεν, as explaining, how *God* is glorified, speaks only of the glory of *Christ*. It may be worth our while to transcribe a part of it.

Ὁταν ελθῃ ενδοξασθηναι. Το ενδοξασθηναι, κατα δυο νοειται· ὁτι τε δοξα αυτῳ εστι το πολλους ειναι τους ἁγιους, οἱς μελλει μεταδιδοναι των αγαθων αυτου . . . . . και

και ὁτι δοξασθησεται ὑπο των ἁγιων ὁρωντων αυτον εν τῃ πατρωᾳ δοξῃ θεον παντων, και κριτην προκαθεζομενον. (P. 191.)

6. Ὁπως ενδοξασθῃ το ονομα του κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου εν ὑμιν, και ὑμεις εν αυτῳ]. Εαν ταυτα τα προειρημενα γενηται ὑμιν, Φησιν, ενδοξασθησεται και εν τῳ βιῳ τουτῳ το ονομα του κυριου εν ὑμιν, ὁταν γαρ ιδωσιν ὑμας ὑπομενοντας παντα πειρασμον ὑπερ της εις τον δεσποτην αγαπης, πως ουκ εσται τουτο δοξα αυτῳ, ὁτι οὑτως ἀγαθος εσῖιν, ὡστε ὑπερ αυ῎ιου αποθνησκειν τους δουλους; και ὁτι ουτω δυνατος, ὡστε ὑμας νευρωσαι προς την ὑπομονην; αλλα και ὑμεις εν αυτῳ, ὁτι οὑτω πιστοι ευρεθητε ὡστε παντα πασχειν· δοξα γαρ δουλου, το πιστον ευρεθηναι τῳ δεσποτῃ. Και αλλως δε ἡ δια Χριστον θλιψις, δοξα· ὁτι λαμπρους μαλλον ποιει, αει μεν εις θανατον παραδιδομενους, κρειττους δε θανατου δεικνυμενους.

Κατα την χαριν του θεου ἡμων και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου.] Και αυτο τουτο, Φησι, του θεου εστι, και ουχ ἡμετερον, αλλα χαρις αυτου, το δοξαζεσθαι, Φημι, και αυτον εν ἡμιν, ὁτι ουδεν αυτου προτιμωμεν, ὡς γλυκυτερου παντων, και ἡμας εν αυτῳ, ὁτι δυναμιν παρ' αυτου λαμβανομεν ὑπομενειν παντας τους πειρασμους. Ερωτωμεν δε ὑμας, &c. (Theophylact. Comment. in loc. p. 723.)

I shall merely remark, with respect to these commentators, that it is no argument against us, that they are not more explicit. For, if we had had them only to rely upon in our preceding Letter, we should have fared no better than we do here. Not one of the Commentaries conveys

conveys the meaning of the words εν τη βασιλειᾳ του Χριστου και Θεου.

7. In the collections which I have made on this text, from the *Latin* Fathers, there is nothing worthy of particular notice. However, as I wish to avoid the imputation of omitting any thing which may be thought of the least consequence towards ascertaining the meaning of the passages in question, I shall transcribe them into the second number of the Appendix.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

SIR,

OF your next example (1 Tim. v. 21) I can produce *fourteen* quotations from Greek writers, and as many, at least, from the Latin. Yet, not in one instance is the passage explained as you interpret it: some of them determine nothing either way, while the greater part correspond strictly in meaning with our English translation. The matter, however, is not immediately to be given up in despair.

For, of these writers, *all* the Latin, and the Greek too, with a few exceptions, follow either the reading, του Θεου, και Ιησου Χριστου, or, του Θεου, και Χριστου Ιησου; and therefore their altered interpretation is, in fact, so far from affording any argument *against* your theory, that it is rather, in some degree, a confirmation of it. The instances will then all come under the general exception, where the second noun is a *proper* name.

It may be said, indeed, that if we adopt either of these readings of the Fathers, we fight against ourselves, and effectually disable the passage from the possibility of being produced as a testimony to the Divinity of our Saviour. No doubt. And, if either of them *can* be shewn to

to be the *true* reading, who would not adopt it? Only, the proof will not depend *merely* upon the citations of the Fathers. Recourse must also be had to manuscripts and versions. But, to undertake this, would be remote from our object: which is not to establish, or overthrow, any reading of the sacred text, but merely to bring forward the interpretations of ancient writers*.

The Greek passages in which one of the two above-mentioned readings is found, are the following:

(1) Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromat. lib. 1. p. 318.

* Notwithstanding what is said here, it cannot be supposed that we feel *unconcerned* with respect to the *reading* in this passage. The following is Wetstein's note on the word κυριου: "Omittunt, A. (Codex Alexandr.) D. (Cod. Claromont.) a primâ manu. F. (Cod. Augiens.) G. (Cod. Boernerian) 17. (Cod. Colbert.) 31. (Cod. J. Covelli.) Versio Vulg. Copt.—Clemens. Basilius de Sp. Sancto 13. Ethic. 70. Athanasius ad Serap. de Sp. Sanct. Theodoretus. Lucifer 5. Hilarius, Pelagius, probante J. Millio proleg. 638. J. A. Bengelio." To the above, Griesbach *adds* the Æthiopic Version, Hilarius Pictaviensis, and Sedulius. It is to be observed however, that all the Vienna manuscripts, collated by Prof. Alter (in number 8, besides a copy of the Slavonic version) excepting one, which passes immediately from του θεου to και των εκλεκτων αγγελων, contain the word κυριου; i. e. he mentions *no other* instance where that word is *omitted*. And this is the case also with all the Moscow manuscripts, collated by Matthæi (in number 16). I speak here only of the *Greek* copies; for each of them has besides, one copy of the *Latin version*, both of which *omit* the *Domino*. But do not the Vienna MSS. as well as the Moscow, for the most part, *belong* to the *Recensio Byzantina*?

(2) Atha-

(2) Athanasius, Epist. 1. ad Serapion, vol. 1. p. 659.

(3) Again same Epist. p. 663.

(4) Basil Magn. de Spiritu Sancto, c. 13, vol. iii. p. 24.

(5) Again, Moral. vol. ii. p. 305.

(6) Theodoret. in loc. vol. iii. p. 485.

(7) Again, vol. iii. p. 1041.

(8) Martinus Papa. Epist. 5. Concil. Collect. vol. iii. p. 645.

(9) Euthymius Zigabenus, Panoplia Dogmatica, vol. ii. fol. 1, the passage of Athanasius, the same as the *second* example.

(10) Again, vol. ii. fol. 6, the passage of Basil, example 4th above. And,

(11) Antipater Bostrensis adversus infamem Originem, apud Damasceni Sacra Parallela, vol. ii. p. 771, reads, του Θεου, και ΤΟΥ κυριου Ιησου Χριστου; which equally precludes us from looking for any assistance from his testimony.

Of these examples, the 1st, 5th, 7th and 11th, give no explanation of the words του Θεου και Ιησου Χριστου; the

the rest interpret them of *two* persons, the Father, and the Son.

Now, the fact being, with respect to the *reading* in these passages, such as I have mentioned, it would be an useless piece of labour to go on to transcribe them. They are no longer any part of our materials. Besides, I am in haste to lay before you the remaining citations on this verse; as they present the only exceptions which I have found to your theory, and the only difficulty by which my researches have been perplexed and encumbered.

1. The first example is from the Homily on this passage, by St. Chrysostom.

——— επηγαγε· διαμαρτυρομαι ενωπιον του θεου και κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, και των εκλεκτων αγγελων, ἱνα ταυτα φυλαξῃς χωρις προκριματος, μηδεν ποιων κατα προσκλισιν· και φρικτως παραγγελλει λοιπον· ου γαρ επειδη Τιμοθεος ην, το τεκνον το αγαπητον, ἡδεσθη· ὁ γαρ περι ἑαυτου μη αισχυνθεις ειπειν, φοβουμαι μηπως αλλοις κηρυξας, αυτος αδοκιμος γενωμαι, πολλῳ μαλλον περι Τιμοθεου ουκ αν ἡδεσθη, ουδε ἡσχυνθη. αλλα τον μεν πατερα, και τον υἱον καλως παραλαμβανει εις μαρτυριαν· τους μεντοι εκλεκτους αγγελους τινος ἑνεκεν; απο πολλης επιεικειας· επει και Μωυσης, κ. τ. α. (Vol. xi. p. 642.)

Here, Sir, we have your *reading*, and yet an *interpretation* directly contradictory to your's.

 2. Again,

2. Again, in the Scholia of Damascenus, vol. ii p. 265, the *text* bears the same form: but however, without any *comment* on any part of the passage.

3. The Commentary of Oecumenius is again *as* express as Chrysostom.

Διαμαρτυρομαι ενωπιον του θεου. Ὁρα σφοδροτητα. ου γαρ επειδη Τιμοθεος ην, παραιτειται, αλλα διαμαρτυρεται, το ἑαυτου ασφαλιζομενος, ει τι των μη δεονΐων γενηται. τι δηποτε δε τον πατερα, και τον υἱον καλεσας μαρτυρας, και τους αγγελους συγκεκληκεν; ὁτι και αυτοι της κρισεως, κ. τ. λ. (Vol. ii. p. 241.) *Here* however, the text does not occur in the body of the comment; but it stands, in the form which I have mentioned, at the head of the chapter.

4. And lastly, Theophylact is as express as Oecumenius.

Διαμαρτυρομαι ενωπιον του θεου, και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου, και των εκλεκτων αγγελων. Διαλεχθεις περι πολλων των ανωτερω, νυν ὁτι πέρι κρισεως ειπε, διαμαρτυρεται αυτον και λιαν φρικτως. Ου γαρ επειδη Τιμοθεος ην, ηδεσθη, αλλ' ησφαλισατο αυτον. Ει γαρ περι ἑαυτου ελεγε, μηπως αλλοις κηρυξας, αυτος αδοκιμος γενωμαι· πολλῳ μαλλον περι Τιμοθεου ουκ αν ηδεσθη. Καλει δε μαρτυρα και τον πατερα, και τον υἱον, ὡς αν εν τῃ μελλουσῃ ἡμερᾳ ευαπολογητος ᾖ, ει τι γενοιτο παρα το δεον, ὡς παραγγειλας. Τους δε αγγελους τινος ἑνεκεν; κ. τ. λ. (Theoph. in loc. p. 784.

Such

Such then is *the difficulty;* and I must own, that I cannot furnish a satisfactory *solution* of it.

A few remarks however *may* be suggested.

The *first* enquiry doubtless must be, Is it *certain* that these writers really had the word κυριου?

And here, it is worth our while to remark, that it cannot be shewn from the *context*, the surest testimony of the reading of a commentator's manuscript, that any one of them had that word. It is true, we read it in our printed editions; but then we know, that continued Commentaries, such as these of which we speak, have often been very carelessly edited, with respect to the *original text;* and in that part, a common edition of the New Testament has frequently been followed by the printer, rather than the readings of his manuscript*.

It is desirable, therefore, to have had it in our power, to have consulted the best manuscripts of Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Oecumenius.

On which account, it would be wrong were I to neglect mentioning, that Matthæi, in his Greek Testament,

* See Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 77. (205 Semler's edition) p. 78. (208 Semler) and also his *Animadversiones ad Examen Var. Lect. Necessar.* vol. ii. p. 867. Græc. Test. and Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 371.

has

has made use of *two* MSS. of Chrysostom, *one* of Theophylact, and *one* of Oecumenius, on this Epistle, and he does not say that any one of them omits the κυριου. Also the manuscript of St. Paul's Epistles, in the library of the University of Cambridge, marked 27 in the second part of Wetstein's Greek Testament, has the same reading, and the Scholium agrees, almost word for word, with that in Oecumenius.

At the same time, I may be allowed to observe, that, if I mistake not, no manuscript of the *New Testament* has been found to contain the word κυριου, which is not considerably younger than the days of Chrysostom.

The *next* enquiry, in agitating this difficulty, would naturally be, Whether these writers have quoted this verse any where else; and if so, what is the reading, and what the interpretation?

But, unfortunately, the verse does not occur again, that I can find, in Chrysostom, nor in the Commentary of Oecumenius, nor in those of the works of Theophylact which I have had the opportunity of examining, viz. the Commentaries on the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and St. Paul's Epistles; his own Letters; the Institutio Regia, and a few shorter pieces.

But at least one may learn *in what sense* they *explain*, or themselves *use* the words του Θεου και κυριου, when those words occur *ordinarily* in other parts of their writings?

Why

Why Sir, *unfortunately* I am obliged to say, that I believe those words, or any form of them (as, ὁ Θεος και κυριος, τῳ Θεῳ και κυριῳ, &c.) do not occur a second time, (unless I have sought in vain) in Oecumenius, nor *more* than once, *if once*, in those works of Theophylact which I have mentioned; and even for Chrysostom, though it is a hard thing to speak safely of *four* words out of twelve huge folio volumes, yet I think that not more than one such passage can be produced from the whole of his writings.

We *have* in all the *three* such forms as the following, in speaking of *the two* Persons: viz. in Chrysostom (vol. x. p. 83.) Αυτοις επονομαζομενοι, αλλ' ουχι τῳ Χριστῳ και ΤΩΙ Θεῳ. Again (vol. x. p. 230.)—Ανοητοις δηλη ἡ διαφορα, ει και ἡ αυτη ῥησις επι του Θεου, και ΤΟΥ Χριστου, και ἡμων ειρηται. In Theophylact (in Epistolas p. 7.) Απο γουν του Θεου πατρος, και ΤΟΥ κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. In Oecumenius (vol. i. p. 537.) Βουλεται δε δηλονοτι, ὡσπερ ὁ Κυριος, και ὁ Θεος.

We *have* besides, more rarely in Chrysostom, but often enough in the two others, such forms as *these* applied invariably to *one* person. Την διδασκαλιαν του θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων κοσμειν εν πασι; (Chrysost. vol. xi. p. 757.) Του κυριου και θεου ἡμων ἡ θεωρια εστιν; (Theoph. in Evangel. p. 396.) Εδογματισε γαρ ὁτι ὁ κυριος και θεος ἡμων ουκ ανελαβε την του ανθρωπου φυσιν τελειαν, ηγουν σωμα μετα ψυχης λογικης (Ibid. p. 566.) Και ὡς παροντων των αγαθων, οὑτω χαιρειν, και δοξαζειν τον επαγγειλαμενων

λαμβανον και παρεξοντα παντως κυριον ἡμων και θεον. (Oecumenius vol. i. p. 261.)

But, of the form του θεου και κυριου, in Theophylact I find no second example; except that such was the reading of his manuscript (if we may trust the printed edition, and a copy of Theophylact, collated by *Matthæi*) in 2 Tim. iv. 1. The Commentary certainly might suit well enough with *one* person. Thus,

Διαμαρτυρομαι ουν ενωπιον του θεου και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου, του μελλοντος κριναι ζωντας και νεκρους.) Εφοβησε μεν τον Τιμοθεον και αλλοτε ειπων, Παραγγελλω σοι ενωπιον του θεου του ζωοποιουντος τα παντα· νυνι δε φοβερωτερον ποιει τον λογον, της κρισεως εκεινης αναμνησας. Εκεινον γαρ, φησι, τον μελλοντα ευθυνας απαιτειν, μαρτυρα ποιουμαι ὁτι ουδε τουτο απεκρυψα απο σου. Ζωντας δε, και νεκρους, η ἁμαρτωλους λεγε, &c. (p. 826.)

Oecumenius, as I have already intimated, does not furnish us even with so small a matter as this.

In the single passage which I have discovered in Chrysostom, the words are evidently used of *one* person.

Και τι λεγω τον προφητην; αυτον αγω σοι τον του προφητου δεσποτην, τον κοινον ἡμων θεον και κυριον, τον Χριστον. (In Heliam et Viduam, vol. iii. p. 336.)

Indeed, there is another place, where κυριου has evidently crept in, either by the fault of the transcriber, or the

the printer; but probably of the former*. The thirteenth verse of the sixth chapter of this same Epistle to Timothy, is printed at the head of the homily, in the editions of Sir H. Savile, Fronto Ducæus, and Montfaucon, in the following form. Παραγγελλω σοι ενωπιον του Θεου του ζωοποιουντος τα παντα, και ΚΥΡΙΟΥ Ιησου Χριστου, του μαρτυρησαντος, &c. and yet, in the *context*, we find in every one of them the *true reading*, και Χριστου Ιησου. This example will help us to conceive more easily how a similar interpolation may have taken place in those other instances. Besides, in consequence of the resemblance among one another of these two verses, and 2 Tim. iv. 1. an unsteadiness and confusion in the readings has taken place in all of them.

But, in the scarcity of all the abovementioned evidence, our *last* recourse must be to *other* writers: not for examples where they may have quoted this text, and given us the *same* reading, for we have already observed, that no such places are to be found; but for *general* instances of the form ὁ θεος και κυριος. Ὁ κυριος και θεος occurs perpetually; but the number which I have found of the other form is not great. It is something, however, to see that the phrase is always used of *one* person.

1. Και τους ποδας ενιπτεν αυτων σαβανῳ περιζωσαμενος ὁ ατυφος Θεος και κυριος των ὁλων· ουκ αργυρον δη, &c. Clemens Alexandrin. Pædagog. l. ii. c. 3.

* For the two MSS. of Chrysostom, collated by Professor Matthæi, contain exactly the *same error*, and the *same detection* of it.

2. Εἰτα πρωι αὐτον δη τουτον τον ἐπιφανέντα αὐτῳ Θεον και Κυριον, Αγγελον ὀνομαξει Κυριου. Eusebii Demonstratio Evangelica, lib. i. c. 5. p. 11.

3. Φησας αποστελειν τον των ὁλων θεον και κυριον Αιγυπτιοις ανθρωπον, ὁς σωσει αυτους. (of the Father.) Ibidem l. i. c. 6. p. 20.

4. Εν γαρ τῃ αυτου γραφῃ τον χρηματιξοντα αυτῳ Θεον και κυριον διαρρηδην παρακελευσασθαι αυτῳ διδασκει. Ibid. l. iv. c. 15. p. 178.

5. Και νυν τον δευτερον μετα τον των ὁλων θεον και κυριον, αυτον δη του Θεου Λογον ἡξειν εις Αιγυπτον ἡ παρουτα προφητεια σημαινει. Of the Father. Ibid. l. vi. c. 20. p. 296.

6. Τας τε γλωσσας ἁπαντων των εθνων εν παντοιαις διαλεκτοις ανθρωπων τον ἑνα Θεον και κυριον επικαλουμενας. Ibid. l. vi. c. 25. p. 306.

7. Επι σε πεποιθα τον εμαυτου θεον και κυριον και πατερα, και πεποιθα ου νυν πρωτον αρξαμενος, &c. Ibid. l. x. a Psalmo 21, p. 500.

8. Επι πασι τουτοις προς τον ἑαυτου θεον και κυριον και πατερα την ευχην αποτεινας, &c. Ibid. p. 506.

9. Διδασκοντος του λογου ὁτι ὁ των ὁλων θεος και κυριος ὁ κατα των Ασσυριων απειλησας τα λεγομενα, &c. Ejusdem in Hesaiæ, c. 31. vol ii. p. 480.

Io. Ὁ

10. Ὁ γαρ ευσπλαγχνος θεος και κυριος ἡμων Ιησους Χριστος ουκ εβουλετο, &c. Ejusd. Histor. Ecclesiast. l. v. c. 28.

11. Παρακρουσθεις ὑπ' αυτου ΚΑΙ τον θεον τον ἑαυτου και κυριον αρνουμενου, ΚΑΙ την πιστιν ἡν και αυτος προτερον ειχε μη φυλαξαντος. Ibid. l. vii. c. 30. ex Epistolâ Synodi contra Paulum Samosatens.

12. Ἡ επι τοις κατοιχομενοις λυπη χωραν ουχ ἑξει. ὁ δε θεος ἡμων και κυριος Ιησους Χριστος ὁ παρακαλων τους ταπεινους παρακελῃ ὑμων τας καρδιας. Greg. Nyss. vol. ii. p. 1076. De Mortuis Orat.

13. Και επι τον νεον Αδαμ ελθειν, τον θεον μου και κυριον Ιησουν Χριστον, απο του παλαιου, &c. Greg. Nazianz. vol. i. p. 707. Orat. 44.

14. Κηρυτ̃ουσι γαρ ουχ ἑαυτους, αλλα τον των ὁλων θεον και κυριον, τουτ' εστι Χριστον. Cyril. Alexand. vol. iv. p. 907.

15. Ὁ μονογενης του Θεου υἱος Ιησους Χριστος ὁ Θεος και κυριος επηγγειλατο αποστειλαι τῳ γενει των ανθρωπων, τον παρακλητον. Theodoreti Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 21. Fides Arianorum apud Nicen. Thrac.

16. Ιησους δε ὁ Θεος και κυριος των ὁλων ταις πολεσι, &c. Nilus Monachus, vol. i. p. 20.

 17. Τοις

17. Τοις ηγαπηκοσι την επιφανειαν αυτου, Ιησους ὁ των ὁλων Θεος τε και κυριος στεφανον δικαιοσυνης επηγγελται, Idem, vol. i. p. 250.

18. Δεσποτη ευσεβεστατῳ και γαληνοτατῳ, νικητη, τροπαιουχῳ, υἱῳ αγαπωντι τον Θεον και κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν Χριστον, Κωνσταντινῳ Αυγουστῳ, &c. Martini Papæ Epist. ad Constantin. Imperat. Concil. Collectio, vol. iii. p. 625.

19. Εν ονοματι του Θεου και κυριου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, βασιλευοντος του δεσποτου, &c. Concil. Lateranens in Concilior. Collect. vol. iii. p. 688. Anno Christi 649.

20. Ταυτα μεν ουν αυτος ὁ των ἁγιων Θεος και κυριος ἡμων Ιησους Χριστος πολυμερως τε και πολυτροπως δια των ἁγιων αυτου λαλησας πατρων περι ἑαυτου, &c. Concil. Lateran. vol. iii. p. 889. Anno Christi 649.

21. Της αναστασεως Χριστου του αληθινου Θεου και κυριου ἡμων Ιησου, του υἱου του Θεου και αρχηγου των μαρτυρων. Andr. Cretens, p. 176.

22. Και ευθεως αυτη Βερνικη, ἡ πρωην αἱμορροουσα, εν μεσῳ της ιδιας αυτης πολεως Παρνεαδος ανεστησε τῳ Θεῳ και κυριῳ στηλην χαλκην εκ χαλκου θερμηλατου. Joan. Damascen. vol. i. p. 369.

23. Δεσποταις ευσεβεστατοις και γαληνοτατοις, νικηταις, τροπαιουχοις, τεκνοις ηγαπημενοις τῳ Θεῳ και κυριῳ ἡμων Ιησου

Ιησου Χριστῳ, Κωνσταντινῳ και Ειρηνῃ Αυγουστοις, Αδριανος δουλος των δουλων του Θεου. Concil. Oecumen. 6. vol. iv. p. 80. Anno Christi 787.

24. Η ουκ ισμεν ὁτι ὁ αγαθος ἡμων Θεος και κυριος, ὁ μονος αναμαρτητος, και αιρων την ἁμαρτιαν του κοσμου, ὑπο πορνης τους αχραντους ποδας ηνεσχετο και χειραπτεισθαι, και ὑπαλειφεσθαι δακρυσιν. Theodori Studitæ Epistol. p. 600.

25. Και τους λεγοντας την σαρκα του Θεου και κυριου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου εξ ουρανων κατεληλυθεναι. Evagrii Scholastici Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 18. p. 312.

26. Τον μονον θεον και κυριον αρνουνται. Ὁθεν δειξαι βουλομενος, ὁτι εἱς εστιν ὁ παλαιας και νεας διαθηκης Θεος και κυριος Ιησους Χριστος, επηγαγεν, &c. Scholia in Epistolam D. Judæ, Vid. C. F. Matthæi Test. Græc. Cathol. Epist. p. 235.

These, Sir, are *all* the instances which I have noted. But, surely, these are not to be slighted, in determining the interpretation of the words, ενωπιον του Θεου και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου*.

* It is obvious to remark, that the weight of these passages, whatever it be, belongs equally to our *preceding* letter. They must be considered, therefore, as transcribed, in some degree, for its sake. Also, the evidence which came before us upon (2 Thess. i. 12.) the subject of that letter, which ever way it may have appeared to incline, is plainly to be taken into the account here.—Neither must we omit to connect with *these* letters, what will occur below on St. Jude, v. 4, and St. James, c. i. v. 1.

Besides,

Besides, we might go on to produce a number of examples, which should shew, that when the writer had to designate the *two* persons, he invariably *quitted* the ὁ Θεος και κυριος, to adopt (among others) the form ὁ Θεος, και ὁ κυριος.

Such are, for instance, Ignatius, Αυτος δε ὁ Θεος και πατηρ, και ὁ κυριος Ιησους ὁ Χριστος (Epist. ad Romanos) Origen, Αλλα τον χωρισμον της ψυχης απο του Θεου, και του κυριου αυτου, και του ἁγιου πνευματος. (Commentar. in Joann. vol. ii. p. 216), Clemens Romanus (as quoted by St. Basil de Spiritu Sancto c. 29. vol. iii. p. 61.) Ζη, φησιν, ὁ Θεος, και ὁ κυριος Ιησους Χριστος, και το πνευμα το ἁγιον, and Eusebius, Επι του Θεου του παντοκρατορος, και του κυριου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου μαρτυρομεθα, δεικνυναι εχοντες, &c. (Apud Athanasium, vol. i. p. 239.)

It is now time that we should quit this text. Nor have I any thing else to say at parting, but to repeat, that I know not how the difficulty is to be removed, otherwise than by supposing that κυριου did not come from the pen either of Chrysostom, Oecumenius, or Theophylact*.

* Though still there would remain something to explain, on account of its appearing in Mr. Matthæi's manuscripts, and others; for instance, Wetstein's *Codex* 27. For these probably were the work of *Greek* transcribers. Or, is it enough to hear what Mr. Matthæi has told us? "Ut enim alii scribæ textum conformabant scholiis, ita eum alii, contra scholia, conformabant ceteris minus corruptis codicibus. Igitur etiam in Chrysostomo accidit, ut haud raro *lectio* ab ejus *interpretatione* dissentiret." Præfat. in omnes D. Pauli Epistolas.

I had

I had indeed once thought, that the appellation κυριος might, perhaps, have become so *appropriated* to our Saviour, as to be considered as a *proper* name, just as "our Lord" is sometimes among *us:* in which case του Θεου, και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου might have been understood in the same meaning, and have fallen under the same rule with του Θεου, και Ιησου Χριστου. But I have found no *other* evidence for this notion*.

Your next example (2 Tim. iv. 1.) would now require our attention: And there might seem to be some reason to hope for assistance *there* with respect to our past difficulties. But the fact is, I have met with this verse no where, but only when it takes its turn in the Commentaries of Chrysostom, Theodoret, Damascenus, Oecumenius and Theophylact: And in all these places, except the last, which I have already transcribed, the reading is not του Θεου και κυριου, which alone could make them objects for our notice; but the *common* reading (till Griesbach, who has thrown the του κυριου into his margin) of our printed editions, viz. του Θεου και του κυριου.

* Ὁριζου δε και την ἡμετεραν ευσεβειαν, διδασκων, ἱνα μεν ειδηναι Θεον αγεννητον, τον Πατερα, ἱνα δε γεννητον Κυριον, τον Υἱον, Θεον μεν, ὁταν καθ' ἑαυτον λεγηται, προσαγορευομενον, Κυριον δε, ὁταν μετα Πατερος ονομαζηται. το μεν δια την φυσιν το δε δια την μοναρχιαν. Gregor. Nazianzen. Orat. 23. vol. i. p. 420.

Των γαρ ονοματων τα μεν εστι κοινα, τα δε ιδια. κοινα μεν ἱνα το απαραλλακτον δειξῃ της ουσιας, ιδια δε ἱνα την ιδιοτητα χαρακτηριζῃ των ὑποστασεων. Το μεν ουν Πατηρ και Υἱος, ιδιον ἑκαστης ὑποστασεως. το δε Θεος και Κυριος, κοινον. επει ουν τιθεικε κοινον ονομα το, εἰς θεος, εδειηθη και του ιδιαζοντος, ἱνα γνωριση τινα φησιν. Chrysostom De Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, vol. i. p. 482. See also vol. ii. p. 708.

It

It is, therefore, needless to transcribe the passages. Indeed, I may just remark, that there runs through the whole (excepting Damascenus, who has nothing but the bare text) a great resemblance, derived, as usual, from Chrysostom: so that Theophylact may serve as a tolerable representation of them all. There is not one of them more particular and determinate than he is.

The *Latin* Fathers, almost without any exception, here as well as in 1 Tim. v. 21, entirely omit the *Domini**.

I must not close this Letter, without apologizing for detaining you so long, to so little purpose.

I am, Sir, &c.

* See Appendix, No. 4.

LETTER

LETTER V.

SIR,

"MANY modern writers understand this whole sentence" (says Dr. Samuel Clarke, speaking of Titus, c. ii. 13.) "to belong to one and the same person, viz. Christ: as if the words should have been rendered, *The appearing of our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.* Which construction, the words will indeed *grammatically* bear; as do also those in 2 Pet. i. 1. But it is much more reasonable, and more agreeable to the whole tenor of Scripture, to understand the former part of the words to relate to the Father: the word God, with any high title or epithet annexed, always signifying the Father only: See above, ch. 1. sect. 3. and my Commentary on 40 select texts, in answer to Mr. Nelson, p. 85." (Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, chap. ii. sect. 1. No. 541. p. 89. Lond. 1732.)

Again; the following is the whole of Dr. Benson's note on that passage, in his Commentary on the Epistles.—"The literal translation is, *And* (or *even*) *the appearing of the glory of the great God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ.* Our Saviour Jesus Christ will appear at the last day, clothed in his own glory, attended by his

Father's glory, as well as accompanied with all the angels (Mat. xvi. 27. and xxv. 31. Mark viii. 38. Luke ix. 26.) By "*the great God*" therefore, must be understood, the one God and Father of all, who is here, and every where else, most evidently distinguished from our Saviour Jesus Christ. And this title, "*the great God*," is never, in Scripture, applied to Jesus Christ, but frequently to the Father, and to him alone*."

Now, I believe, that no man could transcribe the above paragraphs, whatever might be his religious creed, without feeling powerfully tempted to enter his protest against the *strangenesses* of reasoning in both of them. But I have resolved to keep as clear as possible from all the *other* arguments which may be, or ever have been urged in behalf of *either* interpretation of the text; and to confine myself strictly to *my own proper* object.—Wherefore, my motive in making these extracts, was only to shew, in general, (what it needs no comment to explain) in how badly a settled state, writers so deservedly esteemed as Doctors Clarke and Benson, have suffered themselves to leave this passage; and how much more those persons who have taken their way of understanding it from *them*, must have been led by the authority of their names, than the goodness of their arguments; so that we may the less wonder, that it should be left to this late day, to examine more perfectly, what ought in

* The expression "great God" in the *New Testament* occurs (but the reading is dubious) in *one* other passage (Revelat. c. xix. v. 17.). And, as to the *interpretation*, (on the supposition of the truth of that reading) compare v. 9. of the same chapter.

reason

reason to have been the ground-work of all the rest, the philological nature of the clause in dispute.

You, Sir, at last, have boldly declared, not "that the words *will* indeed *grammatically* bear that construction," but, that they *must*, and *can* bear *no other*.

The subject of my Letter is, to enquire, whether they ever *did bear any other sense*, during the times while the Greek was a native language.

1. The *first* authority, in our order, is Clemens Alexandrinus. I shall be contented to transcribe him for his antiquity; and not stop to enquire, whether one might not also justly claim from him that interpretation which we are in quest of.

Νυν δε επεφανη ανθρωποις αυτος ούτος ὁ Λογος, ὁ μονος αμφω, θεος τε και ανθρωπος, ἁπαντων ἡμιν αιτιος αγαθων, παρ' ού το ευ ζην εκδιδασκομενοι, εις αιδιον ξωην παραπεμπομεθα· κατα γαρ τον θεσπεσιον εκεινον του Κυριου αποστολον, ἡ χαρις του θεου ἡ σωτηριος, πασιν ανθρωποις επεφανη, παιδευουσα ἡμας, ἱνα αρνησαμενοι την ασεβειαν και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και δικαιως και ευσεβως ζησωμεν εντω νυν αιωνι· προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Τουτο εστι το ασμα το καινον (Psalm xcviii. 1. Apoc. v. 9.) ἡ επιφανεια ἡ νυν εκλαμψασα εν ἡμιν του εν αρχη οντος, και προοντος Λογου· επεφανη δε εναγχος ὁ προων σωτηρ· επεφανη ὁ εν τω οντι ων, ὁτι ὁ Λογος, ὁς ην προς τον θεον, διδασκαλος επεφανη, ω τα παντα

δεδημιουργηται· Λογος, ὁ και το ζην εν αρχη μετα του πλασαι παρασχων, ὡς δημιουργος, το ευ ζην εδιδαξεν, επιφανεις ως διδασκαλος, ἱνα το αει ζην ὑστερον ὡς Θεος χορηγηση. (Cohortat. ad Gent. vol i. p. 7.)

2. Hippolytus, in his treatise de Anti-Christo, at the end, *alludes* at least to our clause, and has left no uncertainty about the way in which he would have interpreted it.

Ταυτα σοι παρεστησα δια βραχεων αρυσαμενος, Θεοφιλε, ὁπως φυλασσων μετα πιστεως τα γεγραμμενα, και προβλεπων τα εσομενα, απροσκοπον ἑαυτον και Θεῳ και ανθρωποις φυλαξῃς, προσδεχομενος την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν του Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων, εν ᾗ αναστησας τους ἁγιους ἡμων συν αυτοις ευφρανθησεται, δοξαζων παντερα· αυτῳ ἡ δοξα εις τους ατελευτητους αιωνας των αιωνων. Αμην.

3. Next the works of St. Athanasius will supply us with *three* examples.

After quoting St. Matthew, i. 23. he goes on: Τι δε τουτο εστιν η θεον εν σαρκι γεγενησθαι; ἡ δε αποστολικη παραδοσις διδασκει· του μεν μακαριου Πετρου λεγοντος Χριστου συν ὑπερ ἡμων παθοντος σαρκι· (1 Pet. iv. 1.) του δε Παυλου γραφοντος, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· ὁς εδωκεν ἑαυτον ὑπερ ἡμων, ἱνα λυτρωσηται ἡμας απο πασης ανομιας, και καθαριση ἑαυτῳ λαον περιουσιον, ζηλωτην καλων εργων. (Epistola ad Adelphium Episcop.

Episcop. vol. i. p. 915.] The passage is produced, to shew, that *God* came in the *flesh*.

4. In the Treatise *De Communi Essentiâ Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti*, there is a section (27th) whose title is, Ὅτι μεγας Θεος εκληθη ὁ υἱος: and he produces this verse of the Epistle to Titus, and Romans c. ix. v. 5. in proof of that position.

5. The *third* quotation from the works of Athanasius, I have already transcribed, at length, in my second Letter. (See No. 2.) Only I may remark, once for all, (if it should be said, that this, and several other passages are not attributed to their *true* authors) that the matter is not of much importance; nay, that they are *then only* so many *more separate* testimonies.

6. The following is from the 15th of the Discourses on the creed by St. Cyril of Jerusalem. It is that Discourse on the clause, "From thence he shall come, to judge the quick and the dead."

Ηδη και ὁ Παυλος τας δυο παρουσιας ταυτας σημαινει, γραφων προς Τιτον, και λεγων, Επεφανη ἡ χαρις του Θεου του σωτηρος πασιν ανθρωποις, παιδευουσα ἡμας, ἱνα αρνησαμενοι την ασεβειαν, και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και ευσεβως και δικαιως ζησωμεν εν τῳ νυν αιωνι, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ἐλπιδα, και ἐπιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Βλεπεις ὁπως ειπε πρωτην μεν, εφ' ἡν ευχαριστει· δευτεραν δε, ἡν προσδοκωμεν. (p. 224. §. 2. Catech. 15.)

A few

A few words, from the same Discourse, may serve as a Commentary on the above: He is now speaking of the dominion, and the ravages of Antichrist. Επι τρια δε απη μοναι, και μηνας ἑξ τα τοιαυτα τολμησας, ὑπο της δευτερας ἐξ ουρανων ενδοξου παρουσιας του μονογενους υἱου του Θεου καταργειται, του κυριου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου, Χριστου του αληθους· ὁς ανελων τον Αντιχριστου τῳ πνευματι του στοματος αυτου, τῳ της γεεννης παραδωσει πυρι. (p. 230. sect. 12.)

7. Epiphanius is our next authority.

Θεος δε ὁ Τἱος, says he; and then goes on to add, as proofs of this assertion, Ἐξ ὡν φησι, ὁ Χριστος κατα σαρκα, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος·——η, ὁτι εν αρχῃ ην ὁ Λογος, και ὁ Λογος ην προς τον Θεον, και Θεος ην ὁ Λογος· η, ἱνα την διδασκαλιαν του σωτηρος ἡμων κοσμησωσιν· (Tit. ii. 10.) η, ἐπεφανη γαρ ἡ χαρις του κυριου και σωτηρος ἡμων Χριστου πασιν ανθρωποις, διδασκουσα ἡμας· η, δεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· η, αυτη ἡ διακονια του πνευματος, &c. (Adversus Hæres. l. 3. tom. 1. p. 894.

This whole passage occurs also again, Ancorat. sect. 69. vol. ii. p. 74. And the verse is quoted vol. i. p. 887, 888, but without any remarks.

8. This text I find *three* times quoted in the single volume which I have examined of the Greek edition of the

the writings of Ephræm Syrus. The *first* is in a discourse on the second coming of our Saviour.

Και αυτοι (the good) ἱστανται ἱλαροι και Φαιδροι και ενδοξοι, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Και τι συντομως ου λεγω τα μειζονα; κ. τ. λ. (p. τμη.)

9. Again, Τοτε οἱ την στενην και τεθλιμμενην ὁδον βαδισαντες, και παντες οἱ γνησιως μετανοησαντες, και παντες οἱ ελεημονες και ξενοδοχοι ἱστανται ἱλαροι, μετα πολλης χαρας προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Ερχεται γαρ ἱνα ευφρανη τους αγωνιζομενους εν αγρυπνιαις, και προσευχαις, και εν νηστειαις, και ελεημοσυναις. Ερχεται ἱνα ευφρανη τους πενθουντας.—Ερχεται ουκ ετι απο γης, αλλ' απο του ουρανου ὡς αστραπη φοβερα. κ. τ. λ. (p. Τοθ.)

10. And lastly, Ὁ δε εξακολουθων τη ὁδῳ του Χριστου παντοτε χαιρει και αγαλλεται εν πνευματι ἁγιῳ προσδεχομενος την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Οιδα δε ὁτι εαν νικησης, ουκ εκφευξομαι της λυπης· και συ μεν απελευση ευαγγελιζομενος τῳ πατρι σου τῳ Σατανᾳ, συγχαιρων τῳ εμῳ πτωματι. εγω δε αισχυνθησομαι εν τοις ουρανοις, εαν περ τουτο πραξω. (p. Τε.)

11. St. Basil the Great will likewise furnish us with a sufficient number of references.

Εστι

Εστι μεν ουν το κυριως και πρωτως μακαριστον το αληθινως αγαθον, τουτο δε εστιν ὁ Θεος· ὁθεν και Παυλος ὑπομνησιν μελλων ποιεισθαι Χριστου, κατα την επιφανειαν Φησι του μακαριου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. μακαριον γαρ τῳ οντι το αυτοκαλον. (Homil. in Psalm. 1. p. 22. vol. i.)

12. Again: In the Treatise against Eunomius, having demanded whether St. Paul, calling Christ επι παντων Θεον, (Rom. ix. 5.) can mean, that He should be accounted greater than the Father, he continues, in the same strain, Ὁ μεγας Θεος ουκ αν ελαττων ειη ἑτερου Θεου. Ὁ αποστολος ουν ειπων περι του υἱου απεκδεχομεθα την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, μειζονα του πατρος ενοησε; του γαρ υἱου την επιφανειαν και παρουσιαν εκδεχομεθα, ου του πατρος. αδιακριτως ουν εις πατερα και εις υἱον ταυτα λεγεται, και ου παρατετηρημενως. (Contra Eunom. l. iv. vol. i. p. 294.)

13. Πλην ειτε προσκαιρος εστιν ὁ πειρασμος, βαστασατε αυτον, οἱ καλοι του Χριστου αγωνισται· ειτε και τη παντελει φθορᾳ τα πραγματα παραδιδοται, μη ακηδιασωμεν προς τα παροντα, αλλ' αναμεινωμεν την εξ ουρανων αποκαλυψιν, και επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. ει γαρ πασα ἡ κτισις λυθησεται, και μεταποιηθησεται το σχημα του κοσμου τουτου, τι θαυμαστον και ἡμας παθειν τα κοινα παθη, &c. (Basil. Mag. vol. iii. p. 231. Epistol. 139.

There

14. There is scarcely any writer of these tumultuous times, who does not stand forward to augment the number of our testimonies on this important verse.

Gregory Nyssen, after declaring that Prophets, and Evangelists, and Disciples, and Apostles, all proclaim the Deity of Christ, adds, a little below; Την δε του Εμμανουηλ ἑρμηνειαν, και την του Θωμα μετα την επιγνωσιν ὁμολογιαν, την τε του Ιωαννου μεγαλοφωνιαν, ως προδηλον ουσαν και τοις εξω της πιστεως σιωπησομαι. Αλλ' ουδε τας Παυλου φωνας δι' ακριβειας οιμαι δειν παρατιθεσθαι, ὁς ου μονον Θεον, αλλα και μεγαν Θεον, και επι παντων Θεον ονομαζει τον κυριον. προς μεν Ρωμαιους λεγων· ὁτι ὡν οἱ πατερες, και εξ ὡν ὁ Χριστος το κατα σαρκα, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος ευλογητος εις τους αιωνας· προς δε τον μαθητην ἑαυτου Τιτον γραφει, κατα την επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Τιμοθεῳ δε διαρρηδην βοᾳ, ὁτι ὁ Θεος εφανερωθη εν σαρκι, εδικαιωθη εν πνευματι. (Contra Eunomium. Orat. 10. vol. ii. p. 265.)

15. The same writer, in another place, recounting many *scriptural* appellations of our Saviour, evidently *refers* to this passage; and the place is valuable, being in a controversial work, and shewing, by a sort of positive evidence, what however no one could doubt of, after once considering the nature of the case, that the Arians, and other heretics of those days, *admitted your* interpretation. He does it, (says Gregory, speaking of Eumonius) with this design,

Ως αν τουτο παρ' αυτου μαθοιεν οἱ τα εκεινου μανθανοντες, ὁτι κἀν Θεος ὁ μονογενης ονομαζηται, και σοφια, και δυναμις, και φως, και αληθεια, και κριτης, και βασιλευς, και επι παντων Θεος, και ΜΕΓΑΣ Θεος, και αρχων ειρηνης, και πατηρ του μελλοντος αιωνος, και παντα τα τοιαυτα, μεχρι ονοματος αυτῳ μονον εστιν η τιμη· ου γαρ συμμετεχει και της αξιας ἣν εμφαινει των ονοματων ἡ δυναμις. (Contra Eunom. Orat. 12. vol. ii. p. 370.)

16. Again, in a passage not very dissimilar, he speaks expressly of the Scriptures of *St. Paul.*

Ὁταν δε (μεν) το ὑποκειμενον (ὑπερκειμενον below No. 44) και ὑπερεχον παντα νουν κηρυσσῃ, τοις ὑψηλοτεροις κεχρηται των ονοματων, επι παντων Θεον, και μεγαν Θεον, και δυναμιν Θεου, και σοφιαν, και τα τοιαυτα καλων· ὁταν δε την αναγκαιως δια το ἡμετερον ασθενες, &c. (Contra Eunom. Orat. 5. vol. ii. p. 167.)

17. At another time he reckons up, at considerable length, the several names attributed to Christ in St. Paul's writings.

Αλλα δε και ειρηνην αυτον εκαλεσε, και Φως απροσιτον εν ᾧ οικει ὁ Θεος, ἁγιασμον τε και απολυτρωσιν, αρχιερεα τε μεγαν, και πασχα, ἱλαστηριον ψυχων, απαυγασμα δοξης, χαρακτηρα ὑποστασεως, και ποιητην αιωνων, βρωμα πνευματικον και πομα, και πετραν, και ὑδωρ, θεμελιον πιστεως, και γωνιας κεφαλην, και Θεου του αορατου εικονα και ΜΕΓΑΝ ΘΕΟΝ, κεφαλην τε του της εκκλησιας σωματος, και

και της καινης κτισεως πρωτοτοκον, &c. (Vol. ii. p. 708. De Perfecta Christiani forma.)

18. And lastly, in the same treatise:

—— Εικονα δε του Θεου του αορατου τον Χριστον ονομαζων ὁ Παυλος τον επι παντων Θεον, και μεγαν Θεον (και ταυταις γαρ ταις Φωναις ανακηρυσσει του αληθινου δεσποτου το μεγαλειον, λεγων, του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, και, εξ ὡν ὁ Χριστος, το κατα σαρκα, ὁ ὡν επι παντων Θεος ευλογητος εις τους αιωνας) ταυτα ουν λεγων που, παιδευει, &c. (P. 719. vol. ii.)

19. In Gregory Nazianzen I have not found any thing more to our purpose than the following:

Και σωζοιτε ὡσπερ τη διδασκαλια, ουτω και ταις ευχαις εμε τε, και το ἱερον τουτο ποιμνιον, εις ασφαλειαν εμοι, εις καυχημα ὑμιν εν ἡμερα επιφανειας και επικαλυψεως του μεγαλου Θεου και αρχιποιμενος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, δι' ου, και μεθ' ου ἡ δοξα πατρι παντοκρατορι, συν τω ἁγιω και ζωοποιω πνευματι, και νυν, και εις τους αἰωνας των αιωνων. Αμην. (Orat. 7. vol. i. p. 145.)

20. In the writings comprised in the Benedictine edition of Chrysostom, I find this verse quoted *fourteen* times. The abundance of my materials inclines me to wish to be as concise as possible. But, as I lay claim only to the title of an *honest compiler*, I must take care to be intelligible, tho' at the expence of being thought unwieldy and cumbersome.

Ὁ πατηρ ου κρινει ουδενα, αλλα πασαν την κρισιν δεδωκε τῳ υἱῳ. (John v. 22.) ουκ εντευθεν δε τουτο μονον δηλον, αλλα και εκ των ἑξης· ου μονον δε εμοι, αλλα και πασι τοις ηγαπηκοσι την επιφανειαν αυτου· (2 Tim. c. iv. v. 8.) Τινος δε εστιν ἡ επιφανεια; ακουσον αυτου λεγοντος· επεφανη ἡ χαρις του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος πασιν ανθρωποις, παιδευουσα ἡμας ἱνα αρνησαμενοι την ασεβειαν και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και δικαιως και ευσεβως ζησωμεν εν τῳ νυν αιωνι· προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Αλλ' ἡ μεν προς τους αἱρετικους ἡμιν μαχη τελος εχει, &c. (Vol. i. p. 518. De Petit. Filior. Zebed. Homil. 8.)

21. From the same volume I have already extracted another instance in my 2d Letter. (See No. 11.)

22. Also the following is from p. 839 of the same volume.

Μηκετι ουν λεγε μεγαν και μικρον θεον, εμπιπτων εις Ελληνισμον· ει γαρ μικρος Θεος ὁ υἱος, ψευδεται Παυλος λεγων· προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. ὁν ουν Παυλος καλει μεγαν Θεον, συ μη καλει μικρον. (Spuria, *De Sancta Trinitate.*)

23. Και περι ἑκατερας αυτων (the two comings of our Saviour) ηκουσατε σημερον Παυλου Τιτῳ διαλεγομενου και λεγοντος ουτω· περι μεν της παρουσης, επεφανη ἡ χαρις του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος πασιν ανθρωποις, παιδευουσα ἡμας, ἱνα

ἵνα ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν ἀσεβειαν καὶ τας κοσμικας ἐπιθυμιας, σωφρονως καὶ δικαιως καὶ εὐσεβως ζησωμεν ἐν τῳ νυν αἰωνι· περὶ δε της μελλουσης, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ἐλπιδα, καὶ ἐπιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου καὶ σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Καὶ ὁ προφητης δε περὶ αὐτης ἐκεινης ἐλεγεν οὑτως, ὁ ἡλιος μεταστραφησεται εἰς σκοτος, &c. (Joel ii. 31.) (Vol. ii. p. 369. De Baptismo Christi.)

24. Again, in speaking of our Saviour (vol. iii. p. 774. In Ascensionem) he is, says he, τα παντα μεγας· and immediately goes on—καὶ ἀει ἡ γραφη μετα προσθηκης αὐτον λεγει μεγαν· ὡς ὁταν λεγῃ Παυλος, του μεγαλου Θεου καὶ σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου.

25. In his Exposition on the words ευλογηκαμεν ὑμας ἐξ οικου κυριου· Θεος κυριος, καὶ ἐπεφανεν ἡμιν, which are part of the 26th and 27th verses of the 117th Psalm, he asks—τινος ἑνεκεν ευλογησατε; καὶ ποθεν μακαρισμος; ὁτι ὁ Θεος ἐπεφανεν ἡμιν· ἐπεφανη γαρ, φησιν, ἡ χαρις του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος πασιν ἀνθρωποις, παιδευουσα ἡμας, ἱνα, κ. τ. ἑξ.—προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ἐλπιδα, καὶ ἐπιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου καὶ σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Ενταυθα τοινυν (i. e. in the Psalm) ὁ προφητης την σαρκωσιν θαυμαζει· ὁτι Θεος ων καὶ κυριος, καὶ της ουσιας ἐκεινης, κατηξιωσεν ἐπιφανηναι. (Vol. v. p. 327.)

26. Αλλ' ἱνα λαμπροτεραν αὐτων την ἀμαθειαν ὁ λογος ἐλεγξῃ, μαρτυρα παρεξω τον μακαριον Παυλον, ὁτι μεγαν Θεον τον υἱον καλει· μεγαν δε Θεον, ἐπειδη μεγαλου πατρος υἱος. Then, after a few intervening words, he quotes

quotes our text, and concludes, ιδου μεγας Θεος αιωνιος, ὁ κατασκευασας τα ακρα της γης· και μεγας Θεος αιωνιος, ὁ παραγενομενος εις τον κοσμον. (Vol. v. p. 614. Spuria, In Psalm. 96.)

27. Ουκ οιδα μικρον και μεγα, αλλα μεγαν οιδα ἑνα Θεον τριαδα. Μεγας ὁ Θεος· ὁ Θεος μεγας ὁ αιωνιος, Φησιν Ησαιας (c. xxvi. 4.). Ὁ δε Παυλος, απεκδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· μεγας ὁ Θεος. Μεγας Κυριος· ὡς Φησι Δαυιδ, μεγας ὁ κυριος ἡμων, και μεγαλη ἡ ισχυς αυτου. (Vol. vi, p. 577. Spuria. In Genes. Serm. 4.

28. Αἱ μεν γαρ γραφαι δυο λεγουσι του Χριστου παρουσιας, ταυτην τε την γεγεννημενην, και την μελλουσαν. και ταυτας δηλων ὁ Παυλος ελεγεν· επεφανη ἡ χαρις του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος πασιν ανθρωποις, παιδευουσα ἡμας, ἱνα αρνησαμενοι την ασεβειαν, και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και δικαιως και ευσεβως ζησωμεν· ιδου ἡ μια. ακουσον πως και την ἑτεραν δηλοι· ειπων γαρ ταυτα, επηγαγε· προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Και οἱ προφηται δε ἑκατερας μεμνηνται, &c. (Vol. vii. p. 575. In Matt. Homil. 57.)

29. The next reference is purely *moral*.—Αρνησωμεθα την ασεβειαν και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και δικαιως και ευσεβως ζησωμεν εν τω νυν αιωνι, και εν τω μελλοντι, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφα-

νειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Μεμνησθε εμου παντοτε, αδελφοι, και κρατειτε τας παραδοσεις, ἁς παρελαβετε παρα των μακαριων ανδρῶν, προφητων τε και αποστολων, και του δεσποτου των ὁλων. (Vol. viii. p. 86. Appendix. See also Joan. Hierosolymitan. p. 566.)

30. The two next examples are well worthy of observation.

Αλλ' ιδου, φησιν, (he is producing the remark of an objector on the words, και ὁ λογος ην προς τον θεον, και θεος ην ὁ λογος. (St. John c. i. v. 1.) ὁ πατηρ μετα της του αρθρου προσθηκης ειρηται· (viz. in the words προς TON Θεον) ὁ δε υἱος χωρις ταυτης· (viz. και θεος ην). Τι ουν; ὁταν ὁ αποστολος λεγῃ, του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· και παλιν, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος, ιδου γαρ ενταυθα χωρις του αρθρου του υἱου εμνημονευσε; Ποιει δε τουτο και επι του πατρος· τοις γουν Φιλιππησιοις επιστελλων, ουτω φησιν· ὁς εν μορφῃ Θεου ὑπαρχων ουχ ἁρπαγμον ἡγησατο το ειναι ισα Θεῳ. και Ῥωμαιοις δε παλιν· χαρις ὑμιν και ειρηνη απο Θεου πατρος ἡμων, και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου. αλλως τε και περιττον ην ενταυθα αυτο προστεναι, ανω συνεχως προστεθεν τῳ Λογῳ· ὡσπερ γαρ περι του πατρος λεγων, φησι, πνευμα ὁ θεος· και ουκ επειδη πνευματι το αρθρον ου προσκειται, ουκ αθετουμεν δια τουτο το ασωματον του θεου· ουτω και ενταυθα, καν μη προσκειται τῳ υἱῳ το αρθρον, ου δια τουτο ἡττων θεος ὁ υἱος· τι δηποτε; θεον γαρ, &c. (Vol. viii. p. 30. Homil. 4. (al. 3) in Joann.)

I must

I must not neglect to mention that, in the above passage, I have taken the liberty to insert a note of interrogation after the word εμνημονευσε, which is not in the printed editions. But I do not see that the passage is intelligible, unless ιδου γαρ be taken interrogatively; or, at least, as slightly ironical*.

31. Ὁ μικρος ων, ου θεος; πανταχου γαρ μεγας λεγεται παρα τη γραφη. Μεγας κυριος, φησιν ὁ Δαυιδ, και αινετος σφοδρα. (Psal. xlvii. 1.) ιδου και περι του υἱου· πανταχου γαρ κυριον αυτον καλει. Και παλιν, μεγας ει συ, και ποιων θαυμασια, συ ει ὁ θεος μονος (Psal. lxxxvi. 10.). Και παλιν· μεγας ὁ κυριος ἡμων, και μεγαλη ἡ ισχυς αυτου, και της μεγαλοσυνης αυτου ουκ εστι περας. (Psalm cxlv. 3.) Αλλα ταυτα περι του πατρος· ὁ δε υἱος, φησι, μικρος. Αλλα συ τουτο λεγεις, ἡ δε γραφη τουναντιον· ὡσπερ περι του πατρος, οὑτω και περι του υἱου φησιν. Ακουε γαρ Παυλου λεγοντος, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου θεου. Αλλ' αρα μη περι του πατρος επιφανειαν ειπεν; Ἱνα δε και μαλλον ὑμας ελεγξῃ, κατα την επιφανειαν του μεγαλου θεου προσεθηκεν. Αρα ουν μη περι του πατρος ειρηται; ουδαμως· ἡ γαρ επαγωγη ουκ αφισι λεγουσα, και την επιφανειαν

* Petr. Zinus, the Latin translator of the Panoplia Dogmatica of Euthymius Zigabenus, understood the passage in the same manner. It is quoted by Zigabenus, and Zinus's translation runs thus: "Quid? cum Apostolus dicit, *Magni Dei et Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi*; et rursum, *Qui est in omnibus Deus, nonne* Articulum adjungit de Filio loquens? Contra de Patre verba faciens, &c." (Fol. 59, b.)

του

του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Ιδου και ὁ υἱος μεγας· πως ουν λεγεις μικρον και μεγαν; (Vol. xi. p. 235. Homil. in Epist. ad Philip. c. 2.)

Nothing, I conceive, Sir, can be more to our purpose, than the above quotation. The argument is thus: Κατα την επιφανειαν του Θεου.—Who ever heard of επιφανεια applied to the *Father?* And then, to overwhelm the Arian with ten-fold confusion, it is, την επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου—the *Son* is called the *Great God.*—At last, as if startled at his own inference, he asks, But indeed, *may* not this (in spite of the επιφανεια) still be meant of the Father? To which he replies—No, *it can not; because* of the remaining words, και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. If I mistake not, Sir, *your first rule is virtually contained in this argument.*

32. The last passage which I shall fetch, at present, from Chrysostom, is out of the 5th Homily, on this Epistle to Titus.

Προσδεχομενοι, φησι, την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων. Που εισιν οἱ του πατρος ελατ῎ονα τον υἱον λεγοντες; του μεγαλου, φησι, Θεου και σωτηρος. ὁ τους εχθρους σωσας τι ουκ εργασεται τοτε ουκ* ευδοκιμουντας λαβων; του μεγαλου, φησι, θεου· το μεγας επι θεου ὁταν λεγῃ, ου προς τι μεγας

* In a similar passage (below, No. 52.) Theophylact writes, τοτε ευδοκιμουντας, without the ουκ. See also Theophylact on Romans, c. xvi. v. 20.

Φησιν, αλλ' απολυτως μεγας· μεθ' ὁν ουκ αν ειη μεγας, επει προς τι εστιν· ει δε προς τι, κατα συγκρισιν, και ου Φυσει μεγας· νυν δε ασυγκριτως μεγας· ὁς εδωκεν ἑαυτον ὑπερ ἡμων, Φησιν, ἱνα λυτρωσηται, &c. (Vol. xi. p. 759.)

33. I find also several passages sufficiently explicit in Cyril of Alexandria.

In vol. 5. (p. 298. part 1.) after quoting our verse, he proceeds—ει παντων ελπις εστιν ὁ Χριστος, εστι δε και ΘΕΟΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ και σωτηρ, πως ου λιαν δυσσεβεις και παραΦρονες οἱ ποιημα λεγοντες τον υἱον, και εν δουλοις καταταττειν τολμωντες, τον ᾧ παντα προσεστιν ὁσα μονῃ πρεπει τῃ θειᾳ Φυσει ;

34. Again; in the same vol. p. 744. (Dialog. Quod unus sit Christus.)

Ην γαρ ὁ αυτος θεος τε ὁμου και ανθρωπος. οἱ δε την ουτω σεπτην και τεθαυμασμενην οικονομιαν αποΦεροντες, ουκ οιδ' ὁπως, του μονογενους, ανθρωπον αυτῳ συναπτουσι σχετιχως, τιμαις ταις θυραθεν εξωραισμενον, και αλλοτριᾳ δοξῃ λελαμπρυσμενον, και ου θεον αληθως, αλλα θεου κοινωνον και μετοχον, και υἱον Ψευδωνυμον, και σωτηρα σωζομενον, και λυτρουμενον λυτρωτην· και τοι γεγραΦοτος ὡδι του μακαριου Παυλου, επεΦανη γαρ ἡ χαρις του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος πασιν ανθρωποις, ἱνα αρνησαμενοι την ασεβειαν και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωΦρονως και επιεικως ζησωμεν εν τῳ νυν αιωνι, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιΦανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου

Ιησου Χριστου.—Β. Ναι Φασιν. επειδη γαρ ὁλως ηξιωθη συναφειας της προς τον Θεον λογον, μεγας και αυτος ωνομασθη Θεος, καιτοι γεγονως εκ σπερματος του Δαβιδ.—Α. Βαβαι της αποπληξεως; Φασκοντες ειναι σοφοι εμωρανθησαν, κατα το γεγραμμενον. I may be allowed, Sir, just to remind you, that this is *all against the Nestorians*. It appears, therefore, that *they* also *acknowledged* your interpretation.

35. In the second part of the same volume (p. 75.), having quoted the entire passage, a little afterwards he asks: ειτα τις ὁ λεγων ουκ ειναι Θεον αληθινον τον Εμμανουηλ, του μακαριου Παυλου περι αυτου λεγοντος, του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου;—

36. Also (p. 186.) υἱου δε ανθρωπου προσδοκωμενου καταβαινειν εξ ουρανων, γραφει παλιν ὁ πανσοφος Παυλος· επεφανη γαρ ἡ χαρις του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος πασιν ανθρωποις, ἱνα αρνησαμενοι την ασεβειαν και τας κοσμικας επιθυμιας, σωφρονως και δικαιως και ευσεβως ζησωμεν εν τῳ νυν αιωνι, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Εφη δε και ἑτερωθι, περι των εξ αἱματος Ισραηλ λογους ποιουμενος, ὁτι αυτων αἱ επαγγελιαι, και ἡ νομοθεσια, και ἡ διαθηκη, και εξ αυτων, το κατα σαρκα, Χριστος, ὁ ων επι παντων Θεος, ευλογητος εις τους αιωνας. Αμην.

37. I may also insert here, in the Latin translation of Marius Mercator, another testimony from Cyril. The original Greek of this part of the treatise is lost.

Having quoted the entire verse, he continues (Cyril, vol. 5. part i. p. 792. or Mar. Mercat. p. 235.) "Ecce *Deus*, et *magnus*, plenissime nominatus est Dominus noster Jesus Christus: ipse est enim,* cujus adventum gloriæ exspectantes sobrie vivere, et irreprehensibiliter festinamus. Sed si est homo theophorus quomodo sit *magnus Deus?*"

38. If we pass now from Alexandria to Antioch, we shall meet your interpretation *there* in the writings of the learned Theodoret.

One testimony from his hand we have already seen, Letter 2d. No. 20.

39. And also a *second* in the 21st number of the same Letter. But we may add, besides,

40. —— και την μακαριαν περιμενειν ελπιδα, και την επιφανειαν του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, μεθ' οὑ τῳ πατρι ἡ δοξα συν τῳ παναγιῳ πνευματι, &c. (Vol. ii. p. 931.)

41. And his brief observation on this verse, in his Commentary:—μεγαν δε Θεον ωνομασε τον Χριστον, την αἱρετικην βλασφημιαν ανελεγχων. (Vol. iii. p. 512.)

42. In the two following passages he cites *our* verse for *another* purpose: yet not *so*, but that we might col-

* Compare Nos. 12, 33, and, below, 56.

lect,

lect, even from them, his way of understanding the clause in question.

Και τῳ μακαριῳ δε Τιτῳ περι της δευτερας γραφων επιφανειας, οὑτως ειπε· προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Και Θεσσαλονικευσι δε τα παραπλησια γεγραφεν· (1 Thess. i. 9.) αυτοι γαρ περι αυτων απαγγελουσιν, κ. τ. λ. (Vol. iii. p. 1038.)

43. Και ὁ θειος αποστολος τῳ μακαριῳ Τιτῳ γραφων, τὴν προτερα του σωτηρος ἡμων επιφανειαν και την δευτεραν συνεταξεν· επεφανη γαρ, φησιν, ἡ χαρις του θεου, &c.—to Ιησου Χριστου. (Vol. iv. p. 299.) The title of the section is, περι της δευτερας του θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων επιφανειας.

44. The Emperor Justinian, in his *Edictum adversus tria Capitula*, has quoted one of the extracts which we have given above from Gregory Nyssen (viz. No. 16.) and introduces it in the following manner.

Και ὁ εν ἁγιοις δε Γρηγοριος ὁ Νυσσης επισκοπος εν τῃ κατ' Ευνομιου τεταρτῳ (Q. πεμπτῳ?) λογῳ τα αυτα ἡμας διδασκων γραφει οὑτως· Και ὡς αν μη τις τῃ ακηρατῳ φυσει το κατα τον σταυρον παθος προστριβοιτο, δι' ἑτερων τρανοτερων την τοιαυτην επανορθουται πλανην, μεσιτην αυτον Θεου και ανθρωπων, και ανθρωπον και θεον· ονομαζων, ἱν' εκ του τα δυο περι το ἑν λεγεσθαι το προσφορον νοοιτο περι ἑκατερων, περι μεν το θειον ἡ απαθεια, περι δε το ανθρωπινον

πινον ἡ κατα το παθος οικονομια, αυτης ουν εσωνοιας διαιρουσης το κατα φιλανθρωπιαν μεν ἡνωμενον, τῳ δε λογῳ διακρινομενον· ὁταν μεν το ὑπερκειμενον και ὑπερεχον παντα νουν, &c. as before. (Justiniani Imperator. Edictum. Concil. vol. iii. p. 300.)

45. The old traveller Cosmas Egyptius supplies us with, we will say, an *indeterminate* citation in the following curious passage.

Ανομια γαρ οντως μεγαλη το αθετειν τα λογια του Θεου, και αντικρυς αυτων το σφαιρικον σχημα τῳ ουρανῳ δωρεισθαι. Οἱ τοιουτοι γαρ ου δυνανται προσδεχεσθαι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, ὁς εδωκεν ἑαυτον ὑπερ ἡμων· ουτε βουλονται ακουσαι μετα πιστων εξ ὑψους προκαλουμενου του δεσποτου Χριστου, Δευτε οἱ ευλογημενοι του πατρος μου, κληρονομησατε την ἡτοιμασμενην ὑμιν βασιλειαν απο καταβολης κοσμου· (Matt. xxv. 34.) αλλ' αει κατα την ὑπολημψιν πλανωμενοι αστατατῳ φορᾳ περιφερονται συν τῃ ἑαυτων σφαιρᾳ, παυλαν τουτων μη ελπιζοντες ποτε γενεσθαι. (Christianâ Opinione de Mundo, p. 155.)

46. The text occurs in another place in Cosmas, but not more to our purpose than in the former instance.

Και παλιν, προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα, και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου Θεου κἀι σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· και παλιν, ει ουν συνεγερθητε τῳ Χριστῳ, τα ανω ζητειτε· (Col. iii. 1.) This is all a chain of scriptural

ral quotations (among which, besides the above, are Heb. vi. 17. Phil. iii. 13, &c.) to prove that, εστι τις κρειττων ζωη, ισχυρα και ουρανιος, μεθ' ὁρκου, παρα Θεου παραγγελλομενη (p. 252.).

47. In the *Quæstiones* of Anastasius we have the following, in a section under the title, Του ἁγιου Βασιλειου, εκ των ασκητικων. I did not, however, meet with the place in St. Basil.

Μη γενοιτο δε ἡμας καυχασθαι ει μη εν τῳ ονοματι Ιησου Χριστου του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος των ψυχων ἡμων. Ὁτι αυτῳ πρεπει δοξα νυν και αει, και εις κ. τ. λ. (p. 124.) Though indeed this cannot properly be called a *quotation* from St. Paul, yet for our purpose, it is nearly equivalent to it.

48. The following passages from Maximus Confessor may come under the same description.—Και παρατιθεμενος Χριστῳ τῳ μεγαλῳ θεῳ και ποιητῃ των ὁλων μη διαλειποις· (Vol. ii. p. 17.) and again, παραγινομενου κατα την δευτεραν αυτου παρουσιαν εξ ουρανων δηλαδη μετα δοξης πολλης του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. See also same vol. p. 36, 114, 195, &c.

49. Theodorus Studites also evidently borrows his expressions from our text, in the following passage; Εωει γαρ ἡσθετο ὁ Σατανας εν προθυροις ειναι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, μειζους των αἱρεσεων αναπτει τας φλογας.

φλογας (Epistol. lib. ii. 15. p. 403). Also the title of his 112th Homily, in the Latin translation, runs thus: "De supremo die et adventu illustris Dei ac Servatoris Jesu Christi." (p. 251.) Compare (p. 133.) where he exhorts his hearers to meditate "cujusmodi adventus prælustris Dei et Servatoris, futurus."

50. The Scholia of Joannes Damascenus are silent on the whole of this passage: but Oecumenius's Commentary is as follows.

Που νυν εισιν οἱ των ανοσιων δογματων εφευρεται, οἱ φασιν ὁτι ὁ Χριστος ου Θεος; η ὁτι ελαττων του πατρος; ὡδε γαρ φανερως καὶ ΘΕΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΝ τον Χριστον ὁμολογει· το δε μεγας ου προς τινα θεον μικρον αντιδιαιρειται· απαγε· αλλα απολυτως οὑτως μεγας, οὐ μειζον τι ουκ αν τις επινοησειεν. (Vol. ii. p. 296.)

51. On the clause ουχ ἁρπαγμον ἡγησατο το ειναι ισα θεῳ (Philip. c. ii. v. 6.) Theophylact subjoins this comment.

Ὁρας την ισοτητα. Πως ουν συ λεγεις ὁτι μειζων ὁ Πατηρ, ὁ δε Τἱος ελατἱων; Αλλ' ὁρα την ανοητον αυτων ενστασιν. Μικρος, Φασι, Θεος ων ὁ Τἱος, ουχ ἡρπασε το ειναι ισα τῳ μεγαλῳ θεῳ. Πρωτον μεν ουν, ποια γραφη διδασκει ἡμας μικρον και μεγαν θεον; ταυτα γαρ Ἑλληνων εισιν. Ὁτι δε και ὁ Τἱος μεγας θεος, ακουε Παυλου; την επιφανειαν, φησι, του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· επειτα, ει μικρος, πως ἡρπασε το γενεσθαι μεγας; (p. 592.)

52. And

52. And again, in his Exposition on the Epistle to Titus, under this 13th verse, he exclaims, Που δε εισιν οι τον Υιον ελαττουντες, και ουδε θεον αυτον ανεχομενοι λεγειν; Ακουετωσαν ὁτι και θεος εστι, και μεγας, το δε μεγας, επι θεου λεγεται, ου κατα συγκρισιν την προς αλλον μικρον, αλλ' απολελυμενως, ὡς Φυσει αυτομεγαλου οντος. Ει δε εχθρους οντας εσωσε, τι ου δωσει τοτε, ευδοκιμουντας ἡμας ευρων; (p. 853.)

53. Euthymius Zigabenus has adopted *three* of the passages which we have already quoted above (viz. Nos. 28, 30 and 35); the *first* in his Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew, chap. 17; the two latter in the Panoplia Dogmatica (Vol. ii. fol. 59 b. and fol. 25 a.)

54. Thus, Sir, have we traced the fortunes of this important text through a period of nearly a thousand years. I may now, therefore, release you from the trouble of any more *Greek* references, as soon as I shall have set down the words of an *anonymous* writer in the exposition of the Psalms edited by Balthazar Corderius. More passages, I know, might be added on this verse, to the same purport; for as I went along, tired of amassing so much, I remember that I neglected to note down one or two which fell in my way, and which I could not tell now how to recover*. But, all that more passages could

* Perhaps the following was one of them:

Και προ της παρουσιας αυτου δεηθωμεν αυτω, και ψαλλοντες ικετευσωμεν αυτον. Ὁτι θεος μεγας Κυριος, και βασιλευς μεγας επι πασαν την γην. Μεγας θεος εστιν Ιησους Χριστος, καθως ὁ αποστολος λεγει εν τω ειπειν, Του μεγαλου θεου

could do, surely may be done as well by those which I have already produced. To come, therefore, to our last citation.

Ὅτι δε μεγας θεος εστι Χριστος, οὕτω τε ωνομασθη και παρα ταις θεοπνευστοις γραφαις, πιστωσεται λεγων ὁ μακαριος Παυλος· προσδεχομενοι την μακαριαν ελπιδα και επιφανειαν της δοξης του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. (Vol. ii. p. 946. in Psalm 94. Comm. 3.)

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55. Let us now, therefore, turn for awhile to the *Latin* writers.

If they were worth the trouble of transcribing, I might bring forward a series of places from *these* writers, almost equal in number to the Greek authorities; and all of them, as many as convey their sense of the meaning of St. Paul's words, strictly agreeing, unless perhaps in two poor exceptions, with the uniform voice of the Greek interpreters: so that it is the more to be regretted, and wondered at, that our English translators should have deprived us of that interpretation, which was the only one ever preached in all the ancient Churches.

But, with respect to *these* writers, it will be enough, in the present instance, to point out *where* the passages

και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, ὁς εδωκεν ἑαυτον ὑπερ ἡμων, &c. (S. Germani, Arch. Constantinop. Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Contemplatio Biblioth Patr. a Front: Ducæo. vol. ii. p. 142.)

may

may be found, and afterwards to produce a few specimens of such as receive an additional value by something more than the simple testimony of their agreement with your interpretation.

1. Hilarius Pictavensis. Ad Constantium Augustum. Lib. 2. apud finem.

2. Ejusdem in Psalm 62. p. 155.

3. Lucifer Calaritanus pro S. Athanasio. Lib. ii. p. 144.

4. Ambrosii (*rectius* Hilarii Diaconi) Expositio ad loc. (Vol. ii. p. 315.)

5. Hieronymi Expositio ad loc. (Vol. iv. p. 431.) And again same vol. p. 424.

6. Ejusdem, vol. v. p. 1103.

7. Ejusdem Commentar. in Isaiam, c. xlii. v. 13. vol. iii. p. 320.

8. Idacius Clarus (s. Vigilius Tapsensis) contra Varimadum Arianum. Lib. ii. c. 1. p. 430. (p. 281.)

9. Ejusdem. Lib. iii. c. 2. p. 456. (p. 290.)

10. Augustini Collatio cum Maximino Arianorum Episcopo. Vol. viii. p. 465.

11. Ejusdem, vol. iii. pars 2. p. 308.

12. Ejusdem, vol. v. Append. p. 272.

13. Ejusdem, vol. v. ibid. p. 343.

14. Ejusdem, vol. x. p. 18.

15. Ejusdem, vol. x. Append. p. 15.

16. Marius Mercator de Incarnatione Verbi, p. 235.

17. Joannes Cassianus de Incarnatione Domini, lib. ii. c. 4. p. 15.

 18. Faustus

18. Faustus Regiensis Episcopus de Ratione Fidei, p. 683. ap. Hæreseolog. Basil. 1556.

19. Alcimi Aviti Fragmenta ex libris contra Arianos Sirmond. Op. vol. ii. p. 178.

20. Fulgentius, p. 659.

21. Idem, p. 721.

22. Maxentius contra Nestorianos, lib. ii. p. 81.

23. Facundus Defensio trium Capitul. p. 3.

24. Primasius in loc. p. 466.

25. Anastasius Apocrisiarius, Epistolà ad Theodosium Presbyt. p. 249.

26. Beda in loc. vol. vi. p. 1051.

27. Alcuinus, p. 908.

28. Idem, p. 968.

29. Idem, p. 992.

30. Idem, p. 1431.

31. Concilium Forojuliense, Anno Christi 791. Concil. vol. iv. p. 862.

32. Concilium Francofordiense, Anno Christi 794. Concil. vol. iv. p. 886. contains Jerome's comment on the verse. (See No. 5, above.)

33. Breviarium Fidei adversus Arianos, p. 86.

34. Idem, p. 119.

35. Rabanus Maurus ad loc. p. 528.

36. Lanfrancus ad loc. p. 202.

37. Bruno ad loc.

38. Anselmus Laudunensis ad loc. p. 387.

39. Lombardus ad loc.

40. Thomas Aquinas ad loc. p. 432. And

41. Opus

41. Opus Imperfectum in Matthæum (Chrysostom vol. vi. p. 182 Appendix) the work of an unknown author, but probably about the time of Chrysostom*.

The above may suffice with respect to the Latin writers, though the catalogue is, doubtless, far from being a complete one.

Of these, I consider only the numbers 3, 11, 14, 20, 26 and 30, as *indeterminate* in their signification. The remainder, (with the exceptions which I before alluded to) interpret the words *magni Dei* invariably of the Son.

56. It may not, however, be improper to transcribe the two following passages, by way of specimen. They are also from writers who were undoubtedly well acquainted with the Greek language.

The first is Jerome, in his commentary on this verse. (Vol. iv. p. 431.)

"Ubi est serpens Arius? Ubi Eunomius coluber? Magnus Deus, Jesus Christus Salvator dicitur; non primogenitus omnis creaturæ, non verbum Dei, et sapientia, sed Jesus Christus, quæ vocabula assumti hominis sunt. Neque vero alium Jesum Christum, alium Verbum dicimus, ut nova hæresis calumniatur: sed eundem

* See Cave Hist. Lit. vol. i. p. 312 and p. 317. Mill (Prolegom. sect. 1037) attributes it to a much later age, viz. the tenth century.

et

et ante sæcula, et post sæcula; et ante mundum; et post Mariam; imo ex Maria, magnum Deum appellamus, Salvatorem nostrum Jesum Christum, *qui dedit semetipsum pro nobis, ut pretioso,* &c."

57. The other is from Cassian (No. 17).

He adds, after having quoted the passage, "Vidit profecto ille divinæ sapientiæ doctor ad insidiosas calliditates diabolicæ captionis, simplicem tantummodo non sufficere doctrinam, nisi sanctam fidei prædicationem munimine cautionis armasset, Et ideo cum superius nomen Dei salvatorisque posuisset," (he means at the beginning of verse 11, where he seems to have read, του Θεου και σωτηρος, or του Θεου του σωτηρος, and not του Θεου ἡ σωτηριος, the common reading) "hic addidit Jesu Christi: scilicet ne ad significandum Dominum Jesum Christum sufficere tibi forsitan nomen solum non crederes salvatoris; et non eundem Jesum Christum, Deum esse intelligeres, quem salvatorem Deum esse cognovisses. Quid ergo ait? *Exspectantes,* inquit, *beatam spem, et adventum gloriæ magni Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.* Nihil hic de nominibus Domini nostri deest. Et Deum hic, et Salvatorem, et Jesum, et Christum vides: sed omnia hæc videns, omnia in Deo esse perspicis. Audisti enim Deum, sed Salvatorem; audisti Deum, sed Jesum; audisti Deum esse, sed Christum. Separari hoc appellationis diversitate non valet, quod divinitas unitate conjunxit."

58. But,

58. But, moreover, we may learn from these Latin authorities, that even *their* heretics acknowledged your interpretation. The interpretation of *our* version was never once thought of in any part of the Christian world, even when Arianism was triumphant over the Catholic faith. Surely, this fact, might of itself suffice to overturn every notion of an ambiguity in the form of expression.

It was probably, in allusion to this verse, that we find the Arians, in their Discourse, a short tract answered by St. Augustine, speaking *thus* of the Father: " et *magno major*, et bono melior est manifestatus." (Augustine vol. viii. p. 442.)

But, the following, as they were taken down at the time, and are reported by Augustine (Vid. Possidium in Vitâ Augustini cap. 17.) are the words of Maximin, the celebrated Arian Bishop, in *their* curious and interesting conference. (See No. 10, of the Latin authorities.)

" A nobis unus colitur Deus, innatus, infectus, invisibilis, qui ad humana contagia, et ad humanam carnem non descendit. Est autem et Filius, secundum Apostolum, non pusillus, sed *magnus Deus*. Sicut ait beatus Paulus: *Exspectantes beatam spem, et adventum gloriæ magni Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.* Iste enim magnus Deus Christus, dicit, quod ascendo ad Patrem meum, &c." (John xx. 17.)

A little

A little below, the same Maximin; " Iste Filius etiam, quod vos carni ascribitis, in sancto ait Evangelio, *Si diligeretis me, gauderetis utique, quoniam vado ad Patrem; quoniam Pater major est me.* (Joan. xiv. 28.) Ista enim legentes credimus et profitemur, secundum Apostolum, quòd ei omnia subjecta sint, ut *magno Deo.* Iste enim *magnus Deus*, quem talem genuit Pater, ut ipse prosecutus es, utique *majorem* Patrem confessus est."

59. Again: The *Opus imperfectum in Matthæum*, tho' printed among the writings of Chrysostom, is generally acknowledged to be the work of a Latin author, and an Arian. Notwithstanding, we find there the following passage (See No. 41 of the Latin authorities).

" Ergo Filius Dei magnus est, sicut Pater. Quicquid enim Pater potest, et Filius potest. *Pater enim diligit Filium, et omnia dedit in manum ejus.* Sed quia omnia Filius, dante Patre, potest sicut Pater, ideo Pater magnus Deus et primus: Filius autem *magnus Deus* quidem, non tamen primus: Sicut ait Apostolus, *Exspectantes adventum magni Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.* Ut autem simpliciter intelligamus proximum nostrum, omnem hominem esse fidelem, &c.*"

* It is curious, that this interpretation has been *acknowledged* also in *modern* times. See " A Full Answer to the Catholic Doctrine of a Trinity. London, 1772, Johnson." Where not only the του μεγαλου θεου in thistext, but also the του θεου ἡμων και σωτηρος in 2 Pet. i. 1. is *admitted* to be spoken of Jesus Christ.

60. Besides

60. Besides these, we may gather some other particulars from the above references, not unimportant towards illustrating and ascertaining the exegetic history of this text.

It should seem, that by the times of Alcuin, some persons in the Western church, had, wisely enough, begun to ask, whether *magni Dei* might not rather mean the Father? I say, wisely enough, because, as far as *their* Latin text went, it might, at the least, *as* properly be explained of the Father, as the Son.

Hence it is that Alcuin says, (No. 27 above) " Vel quâ audaciâ, eundem Dominum et Deum nostrum, quis præsumit nominare nuncupativum Deum, quem idem Apostolus benedictum super omnia Deum, vel etiam *magnum Deum* non dubitavit clarâ voce confiteri et nominare? 'Ait itaque ad Titum, *Exspectantes beatam spem, et adventum gloriæ magni Dei et Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, qui dedit semetipsum pro nobis, ut nos redimeret ab omni iniquitate. Si quis dubitet de quo* dixisset Apostolus, legat Tractatum Beati Hieronymi quem in hanc fecit epistolam."

That Alcuin should refer to the *authority* of Jerome, and not the Greek original, and the *rationale* of the article, may be accounted for two ways; either because he is writing to those who would have been very slow to apprehend reasonings of that nature; or, rather, because

it is probable that Alcuin himself had never seen the Greek original *.

But, to continue our progress. If we come lower down, we shall find, that these *Latin* notions began gradually still more to prevail, and therefore *some* writers, to secure the old interpretation, leave out the *et* after "magni Dei," and write the passage thus—"magni Dei, Salvatoris nostri, &c." *others* are reduced to mentioning the *order* in which the words are to be taken.

Of the former kind examples may be found in the passages in Nos. 8, 23, and 34, above.

And, for the latter, Lanfranc says, "*Et est ordo*, gloriæ Jesu Christi, magni Dei, &c." and Anselmus Laudunensis, "*Et est ordo sensuum.* Exspectantes adventum gloriæ Jesu Christi, magni Dei et Salvatoris, &c."

Now, in *early* times, we do not find that these circumstances ever took place: nay we have seen, not merely by a continued chain of indirect, but even by open and express testimony, that, in the busy and learned ages of the Church, the interpretation of this passage was allowed, without demur, by the heretics. How, we may ask, can this be accounted for, but because the true Greek interpretation was then universally prevalent, and had as yet lost none of its efficacy?

* Professor Porson's Letters to Archdeacon Travis, p. 145.

61. But

61. But now that we have waded through so much concerning the history of this text, from the earliest times even to Peter Lombard and St. Thomas Aquinas, a person may be ready to ask, " But is there really nothing behind the scene? No strong opposing testimony? Or why, and when did the tide begin to turn?" Yes, Sir! there is some contrary testimony; and, as I would gladly introduce it with all fair advantage, we cannot take it better than from the hand of so great a critic as Wetstein.

After giving his reasons for abiding by the interpretation which attributes the του μεγαλου θεου to the Father —reasons in *matter* much the same with those which we have already seen, of Dr. Clarke and Dr. Benson, tho' more imperfect still than theirs, and which I regret that they were ever written down, both on his own account, and more for the sake of those to whom they may have been the instrument of evil,—he concludes his note thus: " Ita intelligit Hilarius, Erasmus et H. Grotius."

Now, if we are to infer, from his resorting at last to *authority*, that Wetstein had indeed enquired into the authorities for the two opposing interpretations (and more he *must* have known, than here is *told*), what can be more melancholy than thus to see, that they who most profess to be in search of truth, can not only not tell us what they find, but even studiously and imposingly block up, and cover over the avenues by which alone knowledge might be obtained?

But, there is then *one* ancient testimony, that of Hilarius?—Yet, how little is its value! We find no express scientific discussion of the question; no intimation of a knowledge of *two* interpretations, with an expression of disapprobation of one of them.—But let the passage speak for itself. (See No. 4.)

" *Exspectantes beatam spem, et adventum gloriæ beati* * *Dei et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, qui dedit semetipsum pro nobis, ut redimeret nos ab omni iniquitate, et emundaret sibi populum abundantem, æmulatorem bonorum operum.* Hanc esse dicit beatam spem credentium quia exspectant adventum gloriæ magni Dei, quòd revelari habet, judice Christo, in quo Dei Patris videbitur potestas, et gloria, ut fidei suæ præmium consequantur. Ad hoc enim redemit nos Deus, ut puram vitam sectantes, repleti operibus bonis, regni Dei hæredes esse possimus. *Hæc loquere, et exhortare, et argue,* &c." In fact, it would be a waste of words, to set down the reasons which should depreciate this testimony.

62. Let us rather conclude our historical collections with Wetstein's remaining authorities, Erasmus and Grotius; as it is probable that these great names, and particularly the former, have been chiefly instrumental in propagating the *modern* interpretation.

——" του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος. Id ita legi potest ut utrumque pertineat ad Christum, Dei, et Servatoris: aut prius pertineat ad Patrem, posterius ad Chris-

* Compare 1 Tim. i. 11. Mill.

tum.

tum. Chrysostomus ac Theophylactus utrumque tribuunt Christo, et item Hieronymus, exultantes adversus Arianos, ceu victores, cum sermo plane sit anceps: imo magis pro illis facere videatur quàm pro nobis. Primum negari non potest quin Sermo Græcus sit ambiguus, et ex æquo pertinens ad sensum utrumlibet. Quid autem agas adversus hæreticum ex loco prorsus ancipiti? Quod si illos urgeas interpretum consensu, certe Ambrosius vir summus et Episcopus orthodoxus" (this great Bishop is, however, no other than the poor Deacon whom we have seen Dr. Mill treating so contemptuously) " divisim accipit, ut *magni Dei* referatur ad Patrem, *Servatoris* ad Christum. Ipsius verba subscribam. *Hanc esse*, &c. as before, to *hæredes esse possimus*. An non hic palam dicit Patrem revelaturum gloriam suam, judice Christo?—At adventus in sacris litteris non tribuitur Patri, sed Filio? Nec hic simpliciter nominatur adventus Patris, sed adventus gloriæ, quam interim expectamus in humilitate constituti. Tum apparebit majestas nostra, cum aperietur gloria magni Dei Patris, et servatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Quid autem hic metuimus Arianos, quum tot locis Paulus Dei vocabulum tribuat Patri, Filium appellans Dominum? Si Filius Dei, tantum in principio Evangelii Joannis adeo clare pronunciatus esset Deus, nonne sufficeret adversus universos Arianos? Postremo Ariani quidam hunc quoque locum accipiunt de Filio, et tamen non credunt quod nos credimus. Magnum enim Deum fatentur, verum negant; et hæc est illorum impietas. *Quanquam omissus articulus in libris Græcis facit nonnihil pro diversâ sententiâ. Evidentius*

distinxisset

distinxisset personas, si dixisset και του σωτηρος. Miror quid secutus Scholiastes ille *magnum Deum* interpretetur *Spiritum sanctum.* Fortasse locum captabat in quo Spiritus sanctus manifeste diceretur Deus." (Vol. vi. part 2. p. 699.)

The passage which Erasmus alludes to here, is (No. 6, above) from a short Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, published with the works of Jerome, but ascribed usually to Pelagius, or some Pelagian. It deserved to have been transcribed by Erasmus, or Wetstein, to increase the number of their authorities. For, if there be any other place in *all* the writings of antiquity, which does not interpret the words του μεγαλου Θεου, or "magni Dei," of the Son, this I believe to be the very passage. Was it that they dreaded the "din of war," when Hilarius and Pelagius, after overturning all the other authorities, must still have to fight out the battle by themselves?

But, Sir, whatever may be the event, let *our* principle be *strict Justice.* Hear therefore Pelagius:

"*Et adventum gloriæ magni Dei, et Salvatoris nostri, Jesu Christi.* Spiritum dicit magnum Deum quia ipsius expectamus adventum.

It would be almost a pity to suggest, that the original reading here, instead of *Spiritum,* perhaps was Christum. (Compare above, Nos. 12, 33, 37, and 56.)

63. Let

63. Let us now see Grotius's note, and then we shall have had before us a tolerably compleat view of all that has ever been said in favour of that interpretation. Succeeding commentators have faithfully trodden in the steps of those writers.

" Κατα την επιφανειαν· Illa apparitio dicitur non Christi tantum futura, sed et Dei; quia Deus majestatem illam Christo tribuit, ideo dicitur Christus venturus εν τη δοξα του Πατρος (Mat. xvi. 27. Marc. viii. 38.). Ita hunc locum recte accepit Ambrosius. Qui putant του σωτηρος dici debuisse, si hæc distinxisset Apostolus, Apostolus, norint in his libris τα αρθρα sæpe poni, ubi opus non est, et sæpe omitti ubi ex usu ponerentur. Ος εδωκεν εαυτον, &c.

Now, Sir, as to what is said here about the *Article*, I *believe*, that, exclusively of the few passages where you wish to reform the common version;—I am willing to exclude them, as *yet* in debate—but I say, exclusively of them, I fully believe, that there is no one exception to your first rule in the whole New Testament: and the assertion might be extended infinitely further. But, in *all the other places*, (whatever it may be in those concerning which *we* are particularly interested) having, under your guidance, examined them, I am persuaded that the idiom is not " anceps," not " ambiguum." Nay, may I not venture to add, that the Greek must be a *strange* language, if such a thing were possible?

With

With respect to the *other* part of this argument, that of *authority*, I have already said, I fear, more than enough.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER

LETTER VI.

SIR,

IN our last example we abounded in authorities I fear, even to weariness. In what follows, our complaint must be changed. My materials become very scanty.

The mere *Commentators* on St. Paul are numerous: and therefore, he who should seek for the opinion of antiquity respecting any passage of that writer, would seldom be entirely disappointed, even though he were not to extend his researches beyond the Commentators. But, besides them, all the remains of Ecclesiastical antiquity abound in quotations from St. Paul's writings,

Not so with respect to the Catholic Epistles. Of them manuscripts were comparatively never numerous. Accordingly quotations also are rare. Chrysostom, for instance, in all his writings, has not a word either from the second Epistle of St. Peter, or that of St. Jude. And the following Commentators, who have written on St. Paul, all desert us here, viz. Chrysostom, Theodoret, Damascenus, Theophylact; besides the different Latin

writers, as Jerome, Pseudo-Ambrose, Sedulius, Remigius, Primasius, &c. &c.*

It was not, therefore, to be expected, that my collections on your two remaining examples could be very extensive.

However, my part is not so much to bewail any deficiency, as honestly to produce what I have gathered, be it much, or little.

1. Here then, Sir, is the whole of my *Greek* on St. Peter, even *one* reference.

It is from the Scholia under the name of Oecumenius, the only (Greek) Commentary on this part of the Epistle which has yet been published; for the Latin transla-

* How small the number was of Greek and Latin writers who, through all antient times, commented on these Epistles, the reader may see, by consulting Scipio Maffei on Cassiodorus's *Complexiones*, p. 245—249.

Besides what Maffei mentions, it would have been well if we could have had an opportunity of examining the Scholia of Victor Antiochenus which are probably still extant. (See Cave's Hist. Literaria, vol. i p. 373.) Also the Commentary of Euthymius Zigabenus (Cave vol. ii. p. 199.) and a Catena mentioned by Matthæi (Gr. Test. vol. ix. p. 23, preface) of which he promises an edition. The MSS. in the library of New College, Oxford, (Nos. 13 and 14. Mill's Prolegom. sect 1389 and 1394) as I learn by the kindness of a friend, supply nothing for our purpose.—Another *(Latin)* exposition, not mentioned by Maffei, is that of Fab. Mar. Victorinus (Cave vol. i. p. 229.)

tion

tion of Didymus Alexandrinus does not contain a word on any part of the *first* chapter.

Σίμων] γραφεται καὶ Συμεων . . . . αὐτικα δε εκ προοιμιων ανιστησι τα φρονήματα των πιστευσαντων, και τας ψυχας, εις την ισην αυτους διεγειρων περι το κηρυγμα σπουδην τοις Αποστολοις. οἱ γαρ ισοτιμον χαρισμα λαχοντες, ουκ αν δικαιοι ὑστερειν τινος τουτων, ὡν σοι πεφηνασιν. Χαρις ὑμιν και ειρηνη] Το ἐξης οὑτως. χαρις ὑμιν και ειρηνη, ὡς παντα τα προς ζωην και ευσεβειαν, εν τη επιγνωσει του Θεου, και Ιησου του κυριου, δια της θειας αυτου δυναμεως της χαριτος ταυτης ὑμιν δωρησαμενης, αυτου την επιγνωσιν, την δοξαν, την αρετην. δι' ὡν τα μεγιστα επαγγελματα εδωρηθη· ἱνα αποφυγοντες την κοσμικην φθορὰν, την δι' επιθυμιας εγγινομένην, γενησθε κοινωνοι της θειας φυσεως. Εν επιγνωσει του θεου]. Το ἐξης. ὑμιν τοις εν επιγνωσει του θεου, και Ιησου του κυριου ἡμων ισοτιμον ἡμιν πιστιν λαχουσι, δια της δικαιοσυνης του θεου ἡμων, χαρις και ειρηνη πληθυνθειη. Η το ἐξης οὑτως. εν επιγνωσει του θεου και Ιησου του κυριου ἡμων· ἡτις επιγνωσις δια της θειας αυτου δυναμεως, παντα τα προς ζωην και ευσεβειαν εδωρησατο, αυτην την επιγνωσιν του καλεσαντος ἡμας δια δοξης και αρετης, δι' ἡς δοξης και αρετης τα τιμια και μεγιστα επαγγελματα εδοθη. ἱνα γενησθε θειας κοινωνοι φυσεως, εν τω αποφυγειν της κοσμικης επιθυμιας την φθορὰν (V. ii. p. 623.)

In the above extract is comprised the whole of that part of the comment from which the interpretation of the words του θεου ἡμων και σωτηρος Ιησου Χριστου can be looked for. I wish that it had afforded us something more *determinate*.

 Neither

2. Neither shall we fare any better among the *Latin* writers. The only person, exclusive of the Commentators, by whom I find this verse quoted, is an unknown writer, among the works of St. Prosper, and that in a passage which gives no explanation of the words about which we are concerned. And, as to the Commentators, I am almost tired of boasting of the suffrages of Bede, or Thomas Aquinas *.

Let us therefore go on to (Jude v. 4.) your *last* example.

The places which I have found that follow the common reading (*τον μονον δεσποτην* ΘΕΟΝ *και κυριον*), are only *three.*

1. The *first* is the Commentary of Oecumenius. Wetstein indeed, and Griesbach tell us, that he omits the *θεον*. But I have consulted the editions (Verona) of 1532, the Latin by Hentenius, (Paris 1545) the Latin by Felicianus (Basil 1552), and the Greek of 1610 (Frankfort) and 1631 (Paris); and in none of them do I find that to be the case: though it must be allowed, indeed, we cannot *prove from the context,* that *θεον* was in his manuscript. The following is that part of the comment about which we are interested.

* See Appendix No. 5.

To

Το δε, μετατιθεντες εις ασελγειαν, αντι του παραχαρατ̃οντες απο της σωφροσυνης εις ασελγειαν. αφ' ου̃ και αρνεισθαι συμβαινει αυτους τον κυριον η̃μων Ιησουν Χριστον. Και πως γαρ ουκ αρκουνται, οι̃ δια της του βιου ακαθαρσιας τον πασης σωφροσυνης διδασκαλον οι̃ονει τινι διακτορι φωνη̃ αποτομον ποιουμενοι; Τις γαρ κοινωνια φωτι προς σκοτος; Παρακαλων επαγωνιζεσθαι] επαγωνιζεσθαι παρακαλει τους ἀπαξ τον Χριστον καταδεξαμενους σωτηρα, και τουτω πεπιστευκοτας, τουτ' εστι, μη εκλελυμενως διατεθηναι, αλλα συντεινοντας ἑαυτους ετι μαλλον εχεσθαι της περι τουτο σπουδης. Δεξαμενοι γαρ τον ενανθρωπησαντα Λογον, ει λεγοιμεν ἑτερον μεν ειναι τον προ αιωνων εκ του Πατρος, ἑτερον δε τον επ' εσχατων εκ της μητρος και κατ' ιδιαν ὑποστασιν, πως ουκ αν αρνηθειημεν τον ἐνα κυριον και δεσποτην; ει̃ς γαρ κυριος Ιησους καθ' ἐνωτιν οικονομικην. ῾Ο γαρ προ αιωνων θεου Λογος και Θεος, εις την της θεοτητος δοξαν αναφοιτωσαν εχων την σαρκα, η̃ν απο της ἀγιας παρθενου εξ αρχης συλληψεως ανελαβεν, ει̃ς και ὁ αυτος εστιν ἀπαντων δεσποτης. Χαριν μετατιθεντες]. αντι του μεταποιουντες, παραποιουντες. ῾Υπομνησαι δε ὑμας βουλομαι κ. τ. ἐξ. (Vol. ii. p. 623.)

2. Professor Matthæi, in his edition of the Greek Testament, has printed certain Scholia from a manuscript of which he gives the following account.

"D. Codex membranaceus sec. xi. Continet Acta Apostolorum, epistolas catholicas et D. Pauli cum scholiis. Scholia ad epistolas catholicas, *quæ vetustissima sunt*, infra edidi, &c." (Preface to the Catholic Epistles, p. 25.)

The

The following is transcribed from these Scholia.

Και τον μονον] και τον μονον δεσποτην θεον και κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν Χριστον αρνουμενοι, Φησιν. Ὁ γαρ βιος αυτοις ακαθαρτος ων, οἱονει μεγαλῃ Φωνῃ αρνειται τον Ιησουν. Ει γαρ και παρεδεξαντο τινες τον της ενανθρωπησεως λογον, αλλ' επει τινες λεγουσι ἑτερον μεν ειναι υἱον, τον εκ θεου πατρος λογον, ἑτερον δε ιδικως, τον εκ γυναικος, ηρνησαντο τον ἑνα δεσποτην. εἰς γαρ κυριος Ιησους, καθ' ἑνωσιν οικονομικην, την προς γε, Φημι, τον εκ θεου λογον, εις την της θεοτητος δοξαν αναφοιτωσης αυτου της σαρκος. εἰς συν αρα Χριστος και υἱος. εστι γαρ οὑτος μονος των ὁλων δεσποτης. ——οὑτοι τοινυν ἑτερον μεν ειναι λεγοντες, τον της παλαιας διαθηκης θεον, ἑτερον δε της νεας, ὡς δυο αρχας αντιτεταγμενας αλληλαις, πονηραν τε και αγαθην, εφισταντες πασῃ τῃ κτισει, και αμφοτερας αγεννητους, τον μονον θεον και κυριον αρνουνται. Ὁθεν δειξαι βουλομενος, ὁτι εἰς εστιν ὁ παλαιας και νεας διαθηκης θεος και κυριος Ιησους Χριστος, επηγαγεν, ὑπομνησαι δε ὑμας βουλομαι, κ. τ. λ. (p. 235.)

3. The *third* is only a *Latin* testimony.

Fulgentius, we are told, was a great Grecian; and therefore *He* might justly have claimed our respect. But it is maintained, that the Treatise from which our extract is taken, has no right to the name of Fulgentius *. And unfortunately the main reason given, is the profound ig-

* See Dupin, Cave, &c.

norance

norance which it betrays of the Greek language. As far as I see, this judgment is too severe. Still the tract *may not* be Fulgentius's. Indeed it seems rather the work of an earlier writer.

The title of the Chapter is, *Testimonia de Æqualitate Patris et Filii:* and in the series of these testimonies, as we find them closely strung together, he writes (Adversus Pintam Arianum p. 720) " In Epistola Joannis (2 Joan. v. 9.) *Omnis qui non manet in doctrinâ Christi, Deum non habet. Qui permanet in doctrinâ, et Filium et Patrem habet.* Filius prius. *In Epistola Judæ; Dominatorem et Deum nostrum Jesum Christum negantes.* Et Deus et Dominus. In Apocalypsi *dicunt Montibus et Petris,* &c. (Apoc. vi. 16.)"

In the other writers where I find this verse quoted, it is always without the Θεον. Even *then* the clause must be allowed to be an important one: it may, therefore, be worth our while, and is by no means stepping out of our way, to see *how,* in *that* case, the words are interpreted.

4. The following is the text, and commentary of Didymus Alexandrinus.

" *Subintroierunt enim quidam homines, impii, qui olim præscripti et prædestinati erant in hoc judicium. Domini nostri gratiam transferentes in luxuriam et solum dominatorem, et cæt.*

gratiam

. . . . . gratiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi in luxuriam mutaverunt, per ipsam spurcitiam suam, negantes unum dominatorem Dominum Jesum Christum eorum, qui per evangelium sunt vocati." And again, afterwards —" per quam luxuriam, et effectus ejus negant solum dominatorem et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. Animadvertendum est solum dominatorem esse Christum, eo quod solus verus sit Deus. Sic enim, cum solus sit dominator et Dominus Jesus, non expellit auctoritate Patrem, dicens ei, *Domine cœli et terræ* (Matt. c. xi. 25.) Sic neque Pater, cum solus sit verus Deus (John c. xvii. 3.) extraneum facit a verâ dictate Filium."

There can be no doubt but that Didymus understood the *τον μονον δεσποτην και κυριον* of *one* person.

5. And we may say the same also of Cyrillus Alexandrinus.

——*και τον μονον δεσποτην και κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν Χριστον αρνουμενοι. Κατα τινα τροπον αρνησεται τις των ἁπαξ πεπιστευκοτων τον κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν τον Χριστον; Και τοι παραδεξαμεθα τον της ενανθρωπησεως λογον, ἀλλ' ει φαμεν, ὁτι ἑτερος μεν εστι υἱος ὁ εκ Θεου Πατρος Λογος, ἑτερος δε κατ' ιδιαν ὁ εκ γυναικος, ηρνησαμεθα τον μονον δεσποτην. εἱς γαρ κυριος Ἰησους Χριστος, καθ' ἑνωσιν οικονομικην, την προς γε, φημι, του εκ Θεου Λογον, εις την της θεοτητος δοξαν αναφοιτωσης αυτου της σαρκος. εἱς ουν αρα Χριστος και υἱος· εσται γαρ οὑτω των ὁλων δεσποτης.* (De Rectâ Fide, vol. 5. part ii. p. 78.)

6. Again,

6. Again the same writer (vol. v. part ii. p. 190. Epistol.)

Περι των τοιουτων, ὡς γε οιμαι, γεγραφασι του Σωτηρος οἱ μαθηται. Παρεισεδυσαν γαρ τινες κ. τ. ἑξ.—και τον μονον δεσποτην και κυριον ἡμων Ιησουν Χριστον αρνουμενοι. Ιησους δε Χριστος ονομαζοιτω αν εικοτως εν ανθρωπου μορφῃ πεφηνως ὁ Λογος. Επει φραζετωσαν κ. τ. ἑξ. But this example can hardly be said to be *determinate.*

7. The verse is also quoted by Ephraim Syrus (vol. i. p. 113 of the Latin translation of Gerard Vossius); and by a writer, later than Nestorius, among the works of Chrysostom (vol. viii. p. 76. Appendix.) these however I need not transcribe, as they contain nothing of explanation.

8. The Latin writers* which leave out the "Deum," are Lucifer Calaritanus, and a writer among the works of St. Augustin. The latter discloses nothing for our purpose (Vol. x. p. 30. Appendix. Also Augustine's Speculum vol. iii. p. 612. omits the "Deum") but Lucifer evidently understood the words of Christ only.

"Subintraverunt enim quidam homines, olim quidem præscripti ad hoc judicium, impii, qui Dei gratiam transferunt ad impudicitiam, et qui est dominator noster et Dominus Jesus Christus, eum negantes. Cum negato-

* See Appendix, No. 6.

ribus vobis blasphemis fuerit nefas convenire, &c." (P. 222. De non conveniendo cum Hereticis.)

Now that I have produced my collections upon St. Jude, you are, perhaps, surprized to find, that there is still something more to come.

But, while I was examining my Greek Testament, with your Remarks in view, I could not help asking myself, whether St. James might not mean, in his first verse (Ιακωβος Θεου και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου δουλος, &c.) to call Jesus Christ, *God* and *Lord*.

I saw, indeed, that this passage was produced as the *first* example of your 5th rule, which tells us, that when no article is prefixed to the former of two nouns connected by the copulative *και*, these nouns denote *different* persons.

Yet it seemed to me, that the several forms and meanings respecting the nature of the article, might be arranged in the following manner, and rules adapted to them accordingly *, thus:

* The reader may not be displeased to see some part of these forms *verified* by extracts from Greek writers. *First* (1st and 2d) Και παλιν ὡς θεμις ὁ Πέτρος προσηδε, και ὁμολογει αληθως αὐτον ειναι τον υἱον του Θεου. Ου γαρ εἰπε, Συ ει ὁ Χριστος υἱος του Θεου, χωρις του Ὁ αρθρου, αλλα μετα του αρθρου, Ὁ υἱος, τουτεστιν, αυτος εκεινος ὁ εἷς και μονος. ου χαριτι υἱος, αλλ' ὁ ἐξ αυτης της ουσιας του Πατρος γεννηθεις. Επει και Χριστοι πολλοι ησαν, οἱ ἱερεις παντες και οἱ βασιλεις. αλλ'

1. Κυριος. 2. Ὁ Κυριος.
3. Ὁ Κυριος και ὁ Σωτηρ.
4. Ὁ Κυριος και σωτηρ.
5. Κυριος και σωτηρ.

In English.

1. A Lord, or Lord. 2. The Lord.
3. The Lord and the Saviour.
4. The Lord and Saviour.
5. A Lord and a Saviour, or, a Lord and Saviour.

The *third* and the *last* forms may be used indifferently of *one*, or *two* persons: just as in English we may apply the corresponding expressions, "*The Lord and the Saviour*," and "*A Lord and a Saviour*," either to *one*, or *two* persons; while (according to your *first* rule) the *fourth* form (like our English, "*The* Lord and Saviour") is invariably spoken of *one* only.

αλλ' ὁ Χριστος μετα του αρθρου εἰς εστιν. (Theophylact. in Matt. c. xvi. v. 16. p. 93.) See also Euseb. contra Marcell. De Eccles. Theol. lib. 2. p. 133. Again, (3d.) Ὁρα δε τον πρωην απιστον (speaking of St. Thomas) πως απο του ἁψασθαι της πλευρας θεολογος αριστος ανεδειχθη. Τας γαρ δυο φυσεις, και την μιαν ὑποστασιν του ἑνος Χριστου ειδἀξεν· ει μεν τω ειπειν Κυριον, την ανθρωπινην φυσιν (και γαρ επ' ανθρωπων το Κυριος λεγεται, ὡς το, Κυριε, ει συ εβαστασας αυτον, Joann. c. xx. 15.) δια δε το ειπειν Θεος μου, την θειαν ουσιαν, ἑνα μεντοι και τον αυτον ειναι Κυριον και Θεον. Δεικνυων δε, &c. (Theophylact. in Joann. c. xx. 28.) Also, (Nicet. Paphlagon. ap. Combefis Auctar. Biblioth. Pat. 1672.) Ὁ κυριος μου, και ὁ θεος μου. Ουκ αλλος ὁ κυριος, και αλλος ὁ θεος· ουκ αλλος ὁ ψηλαφωμενος, και αλλος ὁ ἀναφης, αλλ' ὁ τω προσλημματι ληπτος κυριος, αυτος ουτος μου θεος ακρατητος τη θεοτητι και αληπτος. With respect to the 4th form, we may refer back to Letter 5. No. 31. p. 80—81. Lastly (5th) in the following passage, *two* personal nouns are predicated of one subject:—Επει και Ὁ Χριστος δυο φυσεις εχει, Θεος και Ανθρωπος ων. Theophylact. in Matt. c. xvii. 27. p. 102.

Accordingly it may, I conceive, properly be said, that *in general* the words "Θεου και κυριου," *may* be used *either* of *one*, or *two* persons. In the *instance* before us, I felt as if it were *more probable* that it was St. James's design to convey the *former* meaning. For, had he intended the *latter*, he would perhaps have been led to have adopted this form, Ιακωβος Θεου δουλος, και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου, or have inserted the word πατρος; thus, Ιακωβος Θεου πατρος, και κυριου, &c. This latter form (Θεου πατρος και κυριου) is found perpetually in St. Paul's Epistles *, and effectually avoids all ambiguity: while the words (Θεου και κυριου) without the article prefixed, never occur, except in this passage of St. James.

However, I did not lay any further stress on these notions, than to be determined by them, to watch, as I went along, in what manner this verse might be interpreted by the Fathers. I come now to produce the fruits of my search.

1. I fancy there can be no dispute but that Amphilochius, or the following writer, whoever he may be, understood the words of *one* person.

Ηπιστησε προτερον ὁ Παυλος εν αγνοια· και εσχατον μαθων την του Χριστου δυναμιν, ευγνωμονως εκηρυξεν. Ουκ ειμι ἱκανος καλεισθαι Αποστολος, διοτι εδιωξα την εκκλη-

* See Rom. i. 7. 1 Cor. i. 3. 2 Cor. i. 2. Gal. i. 3. Eph. i. 2. & vi. 23. Phil. i. 2. Col. i. 2. 1 Thess. i. 1. 2 Thess. i. 1 & 2. 1 Tim. i. 1 & 2. 2 Tim. i. 2. Tit. i. 4. Philem. 3.

σιαν

σιαν του* Χριστου (1 Cor. xv. 9.) Παλιν, αμφεβαλεν ὁ Θωμας, και γενομενος ψηλαφητης ὑστερον τον ποθουμενον κυριον και θεον ἑαυτου ὡμολογησεν. (Joan. xx. 25.) Ηπιστησαν δε ποτε και οἱ του Ιωσηφ υἱοι, καθως μαρτυρει ὁ Ευαγγελιστης (Joan. vii. 5.) και τῃ πειρᾳ διδαχθεντες το αληθες γεγραφηκασιν, Ιακωβος και Ιουδας, παντι τῳ κοσμῳ, Θεου και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου δουλους ἑαυτους ειναι. ὡν μετοχοι γενοιμεν παντες ἡμεις· εν χαριτι του εκλεξαμενου αυτους εις Αποστολους Ιησου Χριστου, του κυριου και Θεου ἡμων· μεθ' οὑ τῳ Πατρι και &c. (In Sanctam Deiparam, p. 56.)

2. The next authority is from the Latin translation of the Commentary of Didymus Alexandrinus.

" *Jacobus Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi servus, duodecim tribubus quæ sunt in dispersione, salutem.* Sicuti mortalem gloriam homines appetentes, in suis conscriptionibus, dignitates, quas putantur habere, præponunt: ita sancti viri in Epistolis quas scribunt ad ecclesias, principaliter proferunt servos se esse *Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, æstimantes hanc appellationem supra regna totius mundi consistere."

* The *common* reading here is εκκλησιαν του Θεου, and Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach mention no other. Θεου would also, I conceive, better suit the train of Amphilochius's reasoning. He is producing instances of those, who, having first doubted it, afterwards have come to confess the *Divinity* of our Saviour.

3. In

3. In the Expositio Patrum Græcorum in Psalmos (Antwerp. 1646 a Balth. Corderio) Vol. ii. p. 759. in Psalm. 85. there is the following passage under the name of Didymus.

ΔΙΔΥΜΟΥ. Και αλλως οἱ ἁγιοι παντες αυχουσιν, ὡς επ' αξιωματι μεγαλῳ, τῳ δουλοι ειναι Θεου. Τοιγαρουν Ιωνας ὁθεν εστιν ερωτωμενος, Δουλος, ειπεν ειμι του Θεου, και τον Θεον του ουρανου σεβομαι. (Jon. i. 9.) Και μην οἱ Αποστολοι μαρτυρουνται προς του Σωτηρος, καλως αυτον δι' εργων κυριον ὁμολογουντες, και λογων. Ὑμεις γαρ Φωνειτε με, Ὁ κυριος, και Ὁ διδασκαλος, και καλως λεγετε· ειμι γαρ. (Joan. xiii. 13.) Τουτο ουν και ὡς αξιωμα μεγα των διωνι συγγραμματων προταττουσιν. Ιακωβος γαρ Θεου και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου δουλος· και Παυλος δουλος Ιησου Χριστου, καθαπερ οἱ εκ των περι αυτους αξιωματων εν ταις βιωτικαις συγγραφαις χρηματιζειν εθελοντες. ΘΕΟΔΩΡΗΤΟΥ. Και &c.

4. Cyrillus Alexandrinus is also an express testimony in favour of the same interpretation.

Ιακωβος Θεου και κυριου Ιησου Χριστου δουλος, ταις δωδεκα Φυλαις ταις εν τῃ διασπορᾳ, χαιρειν. Θεον ενθαδε και Κυριον αποκαλει τον Ιησουν Χριστον, τουτο κατα Φυσιν οντα γινωσκων της αληθειας ὁ κηρυξ. Και πως εις τοσουτον αποθρασυνεται των ἑτεροδοξουντων ὁ νους, ὡς τον οὑτως εχοντα Φυσεως υἱον, γεννητον, η ποιητον ὑπολαμβανειν; (Vol. 5. part i. p. 300. Thesaurus.)

5. Again

5. Again. Πεπληροφορηνται γαρ ὁτι και Θεος κατα φυσιν εστι, και ει γεγονεν εν σαρκι, και πεφηνεν ανθρωπος . . . . . Ιακωβος γουν ὁ μακαριος ταις δωδεκα φυλαις επιστελλει λεγων. Ιακωβος Θεου και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου δουλος. Ουκουν αινεσουσιν ὡς Θεον, και οἱ δια πιστεως και ἁγιασμου του δια πιστεως κεκλημενοι προς αδελφοτητα· προσκυνησουσι δε ουδεν ἡττον, και οἱ του Πατρος υἱοι. (Vol. i. p. 222. Glaphyror. in Genesin. Lib. vii.)

6. And lastly, the author of the *Commentarius Rerum Jacobi, Dei Fratris*, whom Combefis takes to be Simeon Metaphrastes.

Δηλουται γαρ ευθυς απο γραμμης του ἁγιου το μετριον. Εχει δε οὑτως. Ιακωβος Θεου και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου δουλος, ταις δωδεκα φυλαις, ταις εν τῃ διασπορᾳ, χαιρειν. Ἑξον γαρ αυτῳ Αποστολον καλειν ἑαυτον, ἡ Επισκοπον, ἡ τογε μειζον ειπειν, αδελφον του Κυριου· οἷς ονομασι αυτον και Παυλος, γραφων Γαλαταις (c. i. 19.). εδηλωσεν· ὁ δε τοις ταπεινοτεροις φαινεται χαιρων, και δουλον ἑαυτον Χριστου του Θεου, ταις φυλαις του Ισραηλ, ειναι γνωριζει. (Auctarium Biblioth. Græcor. Patr. p. 520. Paris 1672.)

7. The only Latin writer in whom I have found this verse, is St. Augustin. It is not perhaps a matter of much importance; but, after a careful examination, I am not able to satisfy myself, in *which sense* he understood St. James.

The

The phrase " usitatissimum exordium," and the *first view* of the passage, seem strongly to imply, that he explains the words of *two* persons; while the argument of the entire paragraph attentively considered, seems, if I understand him aright, rather to lead to the contrary interpretation.

" Jacobus autem usitatissimum exordium fecit Epistolæ, ita scribens, *Jacobus Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi servus, duodecim tribubus quæ sunt in dispersione, salutem.* Credo, considerans salutem non esse nisi in dono Dei, ubi gratia et pax. Et quanquam ante hoc verbum nominaverit Deum, et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, tamen quia nullâ gratiâ, et nullâ pace salve fiunt homines, nisi quæ est a Deo Patre, et Domino Jesu Christo, sicut Joannes in *tertiâ* (sc. Epistolâ) *veritatem,* sic iste *salutem* pro ipsâ Trinitate posuisse mihi videtur." (Augustin. vol. iii. part 2. p. 678.)

8. But, there is *one* Greek writer who has clearly adopted the *other* interpretation. It is Œcumenius in his Commentary. Ιακωβος Θεου και Κυριου Ιησου Χριστου δουλος, ταις δωδεκα κ. τ. λ. Θεου μεν του Πατρος, Κυριου δε του υἱου. ὡστε ει ἐξ ἱσου πατρος και υἱου δουλος, ὁμοτιμος εστι τῳ πατρι και ὁ υἱος, και κατ' ουσιαν, και κατ' ενεργειαν. Ὑπερ παν δε κοσμικον ἀξιωμα οἱ του Κυριου Αποστολοι τῳ δουλοι Χριστου ειναι καλλωπιζομενοι, τουτο γνωρισμα ἑαυτων βουλονται ποιεισθαι, και λεγοντες, και επιστελλοντες, και διδασκοντες. Πασαν χαρων. Την κατα θεον λυπην, &c. (Vol. ii. p. 441.)

I have

I have now, Sir, laid before you my whole stock of the quotations by the Fathers of those verses in the New Testament which have been the subject of your remarks. Here therefore I might stop.—But there is a body of evidence still behind of so much importance, that it would be highly culpable were I entirely to omit it; and so intimately connected with the line of argument which we have taken, that the bringing of it forward cannot be regarded as a departing from the unity of our design. What I mean is of this kind. Supposing that a person is not satisfied with what we have been able to gather, from the works which time has spared, on any, or all of the above verses, we might take up the different Greek writers, even from the most modern days of that language (suppose we say the æra of Erasmus's Paraphrase of the New Testament) and should find them using the various forms of expression contained in those passages of Scripture, and others closely resembling them, *invariably* in the sense which you are claiming; and thus we might trace our steps upwards in a regular order, even till we should touch the Apostles. To make a complete transcript of such passages from all the writers where they might be met with, would be a work of more labour and shew, than use. Indeed the specimens which I mean to give, will probably seem too many. But the number of them is calculated upon the opinion, that the impression of a long established interpretation can only be effaced by successive contrary impulses. They will suffice, I hope, to shew, how a more complete enumeration would supply all our deficiencies,

connect the fragments and distant portions, and acting as a sort of cement, bind our materials together, and build them up into one uniform solid edifice.

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1. Clemens Romanus.

Ταυτα παντα ὁ μεγας δημιουργος και δεσποτης των ἁπαντων εν ειρηνῃ και ὁμονοιᾳ προσεταξεν ειναι. Epist. i. c. 20.

Ὁ παντεποπτης θεος (και) δεσποτης των πνευματων και κυριος (πα)σης σαρκος, ὁ εκλεξαμενος (τον) κυριον Ιησουν Χριστον, &c. Epist. i. c. 58.

2. Polycarp.

Ει ουν δεομεθα του Κυριου ἱνα ἡμιν αφῃ, οφειλομεν και ἡμεις αφιεναι. Απεναντι γαρ του Κυριου και Θεου εσμεν οφθαλμων, και παντας δει παραστηναι τῳ βηματι του Χριστου, και ἑκαστον ὑπερ ἑαυτου λογον δουναι. Ad Philip. c. vi.

3. Justin Martyr.

Επ' ονοματος του Πατρος των ὁλων και δεσποτου Θεου, και του σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, και Πνευματος ἁγιου. Apolog. i. p. 131. §. 79. Ashton's Edition.

Γεννησεσθαι ταυτα παντα προειπε, Φημι, ὁ ἡμετερος διδασκαλος και του Πατρος παντων και δεσποτου Θεου υἱος και αποστολος ων, Ιησους Χριστος. Ibid. §. 14. p. 22.

—Αγγελον

—Αγγελον εκεινον αν τιμησεις, θεου βουλομενου, τον αγαπωμενον υπ' αυτου του Κυριου και Θεου. (Of the Father.) Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 282. Ed. Jebb.

Η γαρ φυτευθεισα υπο του θεου αμπελος και σωτηρος Χριστου, ὁ λαος αυτου εστι. p. 322.

Ερχομαι νυν αποδειξαι αποκηρυξιν ειναι των υπο του ἡμετερου ἱερεως και θεου και Χριστου, υἱου του Πατρος των ὁλων, &c. p. 336.

Δι' ὡν αποδεδεικται υπο τῳ Πατρι και κυριῳ τεταγμενος, και υπηρετων τῃ βουλῃ αυτου, ουτος ὁς ωΦθη τῳ τε Αβρααμ &c. p. 368.

4. Irenæus.

Ἱνα Χριστῳ Ιησου τῳ κυριῳ ἡμων και θεῳ και σωτηρι και βασιλει κατα την ευδοκιαν του Πατρος του αορατου, παν γονυ καμψῃ. L. i. c. x. p. 48.

5. Clemens Alexandrinus.

Και τους ποδας ενιπτεν αυτων σαβανω περιζωσαμενος ὁ ατυΦος θεος και κυριος * των ὁλων· ουκ αργυρον δη &c. Pædagog. l. ii. c. iii. p. 161.

Ὡς δυναμει μεν ὁ κυριος και θεος παντων αν ειη και τῳ οντι παντοκρατωρ. Stromat. l. vi. p. 612.

* To avoid a repetition of other instances of the form ὁ θεος και κυριος, I beg leave to refer the reader to Letter IV. p. 57, &c.

Ὁ της πιστεως ἡμων και αγωνης θεος και Φρουρος, ὁθεν ἐπι τελει &c. Ibid. l. vii. p. 732.

Ὁν μονον οντα Θεον αγαθον Πατερα χαρακτηριζει ὁ σωτηρ ἡμων και Θεος. Ibid. l. vii. p. 737.

6. Origen.

Οὑτω καθ' ἡμας ὁ Λογος Θεος και Θεου των ὁλων οἱος ελεγεν εν τῳ Ιησου, τὁ, Εγω ειμι ἡ ὁδος &c. (John xiv. 6.) Cont. Cels. l. 2. vol. i. p. 393.

Αδυνατὁν ὑπο του επι πασι Λογου και Θεου θεραπευθηναι. Ibid. l. viii. p. 795.

Τιμους γαρ εις μονον τον επι πασι λεγομεν Θεον, και τον μονογενη αυτου Λογον και θεον. Ibid. l. viii. p. 792.

—Εν πασιν εσεσθαι οἱς επηγγειλατο ὁ ἀψευδης θεος και σωτηρ, ὁ κυριος ἡμων Ιησους Χριστος. Selecta in Psalmos, vol. ii. p. 564.

Σαφως γαρ απο τουτων μεμαθηκαμεν ὁτι ὁ δημιουργος και θεος των προφητων και πατηρ του Χριστου, θεος τε και πατηρ ἡμων εστι. In Joann. vol. ii. p. 216. (Huetii Edit.)

Ταυτα δε και μετὰ την ενανθρωπησιν νοειται του θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων. δοξῃ γαρ και τιμῃ ὁ ανθρωπος εστεφανωται. Select. in Psalm. vol. ii. p. 584.

7. Eusebius.

7. Eusebius.

Ὁ κυριος ἡμων και Θεος Ιησους ὁ Χριστος το θελημα του Πατρος αυτου πεπληρωκε &c. Ecc. Hist. l. i. c. 13.

Σοι την ευχαριστιαν αποδιδομεν Χριστε ὁ θεος και σωτηρ. Oratio Constantini ad Sanctor. Coetum. c. 11.

Ου γαρ αγνοειτε εκει πρωτον τον των ὁλων δεσποτην Θεον και ωφθαι τω Αβρααμ και διειλεχθαι. De Vita Constantini, l. iii. c. 53. And again same page. Also B. iv. c. 13.

Τις δ' αν ειη ὁ σωτηρ ἡμων και θεος ἡμων, η ὁ του Θεου Λογος, ὁ ειπων, Θαρσειτε, εγω νενικηκα τον κοσμον. In Psalm. p. 628.

Εχεις δε εν τοις προτεροις τον του Θεου Λογον και θεον και κυριον διαφορως ανηγορευομενον. Demonstrat. Evang. l. vii. p. 337.

8. Athanasius.

Πασι τοις ηγαπηκοσι την επιφανειαν του κυριου και σωτηρος και θεου και παμβασιλεως ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Vol. i. p. 294.

Οἱ ποτε ειποντες τον εκ Μαριας προελθοντα, μη ειναι αυτον τον Χριστον και κυριον και θεον. P. 908.

Ουτε

Ουτε γαρ ανθρωπος ων ὁ υἱος του Θεου και Θεος, ηφανισε την θεικην μορφην, ουτε θεος ων παρητησατο την ανθρωπινην μορφην. P. 1292.

In what follows, I have confined myself almost entirely to those writers whom I have not had any other opportunity of citing.

9. Amphilochius.

Εἰς τα γενεθλια του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. Serm. 1. Titul.

10. Asterius Amasenus.

Ο θεος ἡμων και σωτηρ παιδευει τους ανθρωπους. P. 130.

Του τοιγυν θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων ανελθοντος εις ουρανους. P. 146.

11. Proclus.

Δια τουτο ὁ Χριστος και Θεος κατηγορων ελεγε &c. P. 352.

Την κατα σαρκα γενεαλογιαν του κυριου και θεου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. P. 439.

Διο και προσδεχομεθα την δοξαν του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, ὁς αποδωσει τοις μεν ευσεβεσι &c. Epistol. ad Armenos ap. Harduini Concil. Vol. i. p. 1735.

12. Nilus

12. Nilus Monachus.

Μετὰ τὴν ἐπιδημιαν Χριστου του θεου και δεσποτου των ὁλων. P. 43.

Τι δ' αν ειποις περι του παντων θεου και προνοητου Χριστου, του ταπεινοφρονος &c. P. 114.

Δια της ἐπικλησεως του ονοματος Ιησου Χριστου, του φιλανθρωπου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων. P. 180.

Οὐ και ῥυσθειημεν χαριτι του Χριστου και Θεου ἡμων. ᾧ πρεπει τιμη και δοξα εις τους αιωνας. Vol. ii. p. 542.

13. Evagrius Scholasticus.

Και τον ὑπερ του θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου ζηλον, του τε πεποιηκοτος και δεδοξακοτος ἡμας. Epistola Basilisci, l. iii. c. 4.

Του γαρ μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου, του ἐκ της ἁγιας παρθενου &c. Zenonis Henoticum, l. iii. c. 14.

Ομολογουμεν δε τον μονογενη του Θεου υἱον και θεον, τον κατ' αληθειαν ενανθρωπησαντα. Ibid. l. iii. c. 14.

Και την του δεσποτου και σωτηρος και θεου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου ευμενειαν. Ibid. c. 14.

Ἐκ του μιαν ἁπαντων δοξολογιαν αναπεμπεσθαι τῳ μεγαλῳ θεῳ και σωτηρι ἡμων Ιησου Χριστῳ. L. 5, c. 5.

15. Andreas

14. Andreas Cretensis.

Χριστου του αληθινου θεου και σωτηρος, ὑμων &c. P. 184.

Ευλογων τον θεον και δεσποτην και σωτηρα των ἁπαντων, Χριστον. P. 209.

Ὁ κυριος ἡμων και θεος, θελων &c. P. 255.

15. Maximus Confessor.

Δι' ἡν γενομενος ανθρωπος ὁ θεος και Λογος Φησιν. Vol. i. p. 17.

Την ανθρωπου Φυσιν, θεωθεισαν ηδη και ἁρμοσθεισαν αυτῳ τῳ Λογῳ και θεῳ. P. 86.

Εικοτως ὁ τον κατ' ελπιδα ζωης του Θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. P. 196.

Αυτος γαρ ὁ κυριος ἡμων και θεος γενομενος ανθρωπος. P. 253.

Εν τῃ μια του ἑνος Χριστου και Θεου σωτηρος ὑποστασει &c. P. 599.

Εις την, προσωπον, προς προσωπον τελειαν επιγνωσιν τε και μυησιν αυτου του μεγαλου Θεου και σωτηρος των ὁλων Χριστου, τους κατ' ευχας &c. Vol. ii. p. 36.

Δια

Δια παντος Φρουρουμενους ψυχη τε και σωματι ταυτην την ειλικρινη και ορθοδοξον του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων πρεσβευειν ὁμολογιαν, εμπροσθεν αυτου και πασης της κτισεως. P. 114. See also p. 195, 336.

Ὁ Θεος και πατηρ ελεγε τῳ υἱῳ και θεῳ. Vol. ii. p. 449.

Ἡ δε παναγια τε και σεπτη του μεγαλου και μακαριου Θεου και πατρος επικλησις, της δοθησομενης, &c. p. 513.

16. Theodorus Studites.

Και ὡς θαυμαστα τα εργα του μεγαλου και μονου θεου ἡμων των Χριστιανων, &c. p. 649.

—Σωτηριως τῳ κοσμῳ, του Χριστου και Θεου ἡμων, ζωοποιου σταυρου. P. 198.

Την εκκλησιαν ἡν περιεποιησατο ὁ κυριος και θεος ἡμων τῳ οικειῳ αἱματι. P. 282.

ΕΦ' ᾧ το παναγιον σωμα του θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου κατετεθη. P. 402.

Και μαρτυς του λογου αυτος ὁ θεος και λογος, πη μεν λεγων, &c. p. 442.

Και ταυτα ὑπερ Χριστου του υἱου του Θεου και θεου ἡμων. P. 539.

17. Photius.

Ἕλληνες τον Χριστον και θεόν ἡμων εικονιζειν, ὁτι μηδε θειαζουσιν, ουκ ανεχονται. Epistolar. p. 96.

Ην ποτε κρυφιος Φιλος ὁ Ιωσηφ και νυκτερινος μαθητης του εμου δεσποτου και θεου. Ibid. pl 133.

Ὡστε μηδε τουτου συναισθησιν δεξασθαι, ὁτιπερ ὁ σωτηρ ἡμων και θεος, των μεν πολιτικων &c. P. 281.

Οτι ουδ' ὁ Χριστος και θεος ἡμων, ἁτε την ἡμαρτημενην Φυσιν προσειληφως, &c. Bibliothec. p. 396.

Δυο γαρ γεννησεις του ἑνος Χριστου και Θεου ἡμων ειδοτες. P. 801.

Ὁρα δε και αυτος ὁ δεσποτης και θεος των ὁλων τι λεγει τῳ Μωσει. P. 885.

Της παρουσιας αυτου ενιαυτους ὁ κυριος και θεος ἡμων, ὁ Χριστος. P. 293.

18. Petrus Siculus.

Του μεγαλου τοινυν θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου επι της γης οΦθεντος, και ἡμιν τοις ανθρωποις συναναστρα Φεντος. P. 10.

19. Theophanes Cerameus.

Και οὑτως αξιωθειημεν την ζωηΦορον αναστασιν ιδειν του θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. P. 130.

Της

Της λαμπρας αναστασεως εποπται γενωμεθα του μεγαλου θεου και δεσποτου Χριστου, του συν Πατρι &c. P. 158.

Προσδοκωντες λημψεσθαι ζωην αιωνιον χαριτι του μεγαλου Θεου και Πατρος, και του μονογενους αυτου υἱου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. P. 296.

Τοις ιχνεσι του δεσποτου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου· ᾧ ἡ δοξα εις τους αιωνας. P. 329.

20. Germanus Patriarcha.

Την επι του Ιορδανου αναδειξιν και Φανερωσιν του Χριστου και θεου ἡμων. P. 143.

Το δε εν τῳ ποτηριῳ αυτο το τιμιον αἱμα του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου. P. 159.

Και καταπαυσεις, εις την του κυριου και θεου ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου προελευσιν. P. 159.

Και εσται ελεη του μεγαλου θεου και σωτηρος ἡμων Ιησου Χριστου μετα παντων ἡμων. P. 160.

Μετα Φοβου Θεου και πιστεως και αγαπης προσελθετε Χριστῳ τῳ θεῳ και βασιλει ἡμων· δει ουν Φοβον &c. P. 165.

We might continue our progress still further, but even this brings us into the middle of the 13th century; so that we shall easily be excused for descending no lower. And it may be fairly estimated, what stress is to be laid on this part of the argument, when it shall have been told, that I have observed more (I am persuaded) than a thousand instances of the form ὁ Χριστος και Θεος (Ephes. v. 5.) some hundreds of instances of the ὁ μεγας θεος και σωτηρ (Tit. ii. 13); and not fewer than several thousands of the form ὁ θεος και σωτηρ (2 Pet. i. 1.) while in no single case, have I seen (where the sense could be determined) any one of them used, but only of *one* person.

Here then our researches are concluded—as far as they respect the true interpretation of certain expressions in the New Testament.

The further prosecution of the subject through its only remaining step *, the verification of your rule in *general* instances, may best be left to the individual observations of those who are not yet satisfied. All I shall say is, that if I had met with any thing of that kind, in my own progress, which appeared to do otherwise than confirm

* If any one wishes to examine Mr. Sharp's theory by the test of Latin compositions translated into Greek by Greek writers, according to the suggestion in page 9, he may consult different volumes of the Councils. Eusebius Ecc. Hist. l. viii. c. 17. Athanasius, &c.

your

your rule, in its fullest extent, I should not have been witholden from producing it.

I remain, Sir,

With great esteem and respect,

Your very obedient Servant.

P. S. It may not be amiss to subjoin two or three passages similar to that sense of the θεου και κυριου of St. James, according to which both those words are attributed to *one* person.

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1. Πειρασομαι ὑμας πεισαι . . . ὁτι εστι και λεγεται Θεος και Κυριος ἑτερος ὑπερ τον ποιητην των ὁλων, ὁς και Αγγελος καλειται. Justin Martyr. Dialog. p. 161. 275.

2. Τον δε υἱον του Θεου, Θεον και Κυριον ανακηρυττει, και αληθως υἱον ειναι και Θεον διδασκει. Eusebius de Ecclesiast. Theologia, l. ii. c. 10.

3. Ποτε μεν Θεον και Κυριον, ποτε δε και Αγγελον Θεου προσαγορευει: (viz. Moses, speaking of Christ) Θεος μεν και Κυριος των θεοφιλων ανδρων ανηγορευομενος, Αγγελος δε του ανωτατου Πατρος. Euseb. Demonstrat. Evangel. l. i. c. 5. p. 10.

4. Οτι μεν Θεος και Κυριος ὁ Χριστος εστιν, οἱ προφηται μαρτυρουσιν. Athanasius, vol. ii. p. 301.

5. Αγαθε

5. Αγαθε ακουται, κατα την σην ὑπονοιαν παρητησατο. (Mat. xix. 16.) Θεος και Κυριος ακουσαι ου πολλῳ μαλλον ωφειλε παραιτησασθαι; (alluding to St. Thomas's testimony, John c. xx. 28.) Chrysostom vol. iii. p. 763.

6. Αυτος ὁ μονογενης του Θεου υἱος Ιησους Χριστος, Θεος και Κυριος, επηγγειλατο. Theodoret. Vol. iii. p. 616. B.

7. Ουκ ηλλοτριωθη του ὑπαρχειν Θεος και Κυριος των ὁλων. (Of Christ.) Nilus Monachus, vol. i. p. 44.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

[1]TERTULLIAN. De Pudicitia sect. xvii. p. 569. Omnis, inquit, sermo turpis non procedat ex ore vestro. Item; fornicatio autem et immunditia omnis ne nominetur quidem inter vos, sicut decet sanctos (tanto abest ut excusetur) hoc scientes, quod omnis fornicator aut immundus non habeat Dei regnum.

2. Cyprian. Epist. lii. p. 74. Nec sibi in hoc novi hæretici blandiantur quod se dicant idololatris non communicare quando sint apud illos et adulteri et fraudatores qui teneantur idololatriæ crimine, secundum Apostolum dicentem: Hoc enim scitote intelligentes quia omnis fornicator; aut immundus, aut fraudator, quod est idololatria, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Et iterum: Mortificate &c. Col. iii. 5.

3. Ambrose. De Lapsu Virginis Consecratæ, c. vi. p. 311. Fornicatio autem et omnis immunditia nec nominetur inter vos sicut decet sanctos: Hoc scitote intelligentes quia omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus non erit hæres in regno Christi et Dei.

4. Again. Epist. lxiii. p. 1025. Fornicatio autem et omnis immunditia et avaritia nec nominetur in vobis sicut decet sanctos. Hoc enim scitote quod omnis impudicus aut avarus quod est idololatria, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.

5. Jerome. Epist. 5. vol. iv. part 2. p. 8. Nolo, Frater charissime, examinato pondere delictorum, minora arbitreris idololatriæ crimine esse quæ diximus. Imo Apostoli disce sententiam qui ait: Hoc enim scitote intelligentes, quia omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, aut fraudator, quod est idolorum servitus, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.

6. Idacius

6. Idacius Clarus Adversus Varimadum Arianum, p. 271. (Vigilius Tapsensis, b. i. c. 46. p. 404.) Quod vero unum atque commune (regnum) habeant Pater et Filius, ad Ephesios scribens, probat Apostolus, dicens: Hoc enim scitote intelligentes quod omnis fornicator aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Cum igitur videtis unum esse regnum Patris et Filii, cur vos impio dogmate talia de illo adseverare conamini?

7. Again, same work, p. 273. (Vigil. Tap. p. 407). Item Apostolus: Hoc autem scitote intelligentes quod omnis fornicator aut immundus quod est idolorum servitus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Ecce Filium priori loco a Patre ostendimus nominatum.

8. Augustin. Speculum Epistolæ Pauli ad Ephesios, vol. iii. p. 593, 594. The passage quoted, but nothing more than the bare quotation.

9. Also vol. v. p. 947. Quapropter præsumere quis audeat de nomine Christiano et non cum omni obedientia et timore audiat Apostolum dicentem: *Hoc enim scitote cognoscentes quoniam omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Nemo vos seducat*, &c.

10. Again, vol. vi. p. 94. Profecto adversus ea nos instruxit, et paratos esse voluit idem Apostolus dicens: Hoc autem scitote intelligentes quoniam omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis. Cum ergo audierimus quosdam fornicatores, et immundos, et avaros per ignem salvari, ut habeant hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei; non obsurdescamus contra istum reclamantem et dicentem; omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei; et ne acquiescamus illis verbis contra continuo subjicientem, nemo vos seducat inanibus verbis.

11. Also

11. Also, Vol. vi. p. 669. Hoc enim scitote quod omnis impudicus aut immundus, aut avarus quod est idolorum servitus non erit hæres in regno Christi et Dei. Ille se merito Christianum judicet qui hæc præcepta custodit, qui sanctus, humilis et pudicus, et justus est, qui in misericordiæ et justitiæ operibus conversatur.

12. Also vol. ix. p. 84. In this page Augustin first quotes the passage which we have given above (No. 2.) from Cyprian: and afterwards adds: Sed, si possunt, ut dixi, amborum peccata æqualiter appendantur, ignorantis blasphemia, et scientis idololatria, et eadem sententia judicentur ille qui Christum quærendo in veri similem sermonem falsitatis incurrit, et ille qui sciens Christo resistit loquenti per Apostolum: *quoniam omnis fornicator, aut immundus, et avarus, quod est idolorum servitus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.* Cur in illo baptismus et evangelica verba improbantur, in isto autem approbantur.

13. Also vol. ix. p. 86. Hic enim nulla est quæstionis obscuritas, aperte Scriptura clamat, *Neque avari, neque rapaces regnum Dei possidebunt*; *et, Qui pecuniam suam dedit in usuram* (Psalm xiv. 5.); *et, Omnis fornicator, et immundus, et avarus, quod est idolorum servitus, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.*

14. And lastly, vol. ix. p. 92. Sermo Dei non nos seducit, qui nec tacet, nec parcit, nec ulla adulatione nos decipit: Ideo quippe et alibi dicit, *Hoc autem scitote cognoscentes quoniam omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus quod est idolorum servitus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Nemo vos seducat*, &c.

15. Sedulius in loc. p. 998. *Hoc enim scitote:* Hoc contra illos agit, qui solam fidem posse sufficere dicunt. *Aut avarus,* Qui sic honorat divitias ut Deos. Nam in avaro idololatria est quod scripturam ipsius numinis loco colit: ut voracium Deus venter est, ita cupidorum Deus pecunia. *In filios diffidentiæ.* In sodomitas, &c.

16. Fulgentius. Excerpta contra Fabianum p. 63. Inde est quod unum regnum unamque sedem Patris et Filii Apostolica præ-

dicare non cessat auctoritas. Beatus enim Paulus unum regnum Filii et Patris ostendens, ait, *Hoc enim scitote intelligentes, quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus non habebit hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.*

17. Cassiodorus. Expositio in Psalm. cxvi. vol. ii. p. 393. Subjiciunt quoque (Ariani) tertiam falsitatem: Pater semper anterius Filio prædicatur. Et ubi est illud, *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum:* Vides nihil ibi fuisse præpositum: nam et multis locis primus Filius nominatur, ut est illud Apostoli ad Ephesios: *An nescitis, quia omnis fornicator et immundus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei?*

18. Beda in loc. vol. vi. p. 805. Hoc enim scitote intelligentes quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus quod est idolorum servitus, non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Positurus est enim oves ad dextram, hoedos ad sinistram, &c.

19. Concilium Calcuthense, Anno Christi 787. Concil. vol. iii. p. 2078. Unde et Apostolus ait: Hoc namque scitote intelligentes quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut adulter aut avarus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei. Perpendite namque, &c.

20. Concilium Aquisgranense. Anno Christi 816. ap. Concil. vol. iv. p. 1130.—*neque rapaces regnum Dei possidebunt.* Item idem: *Omnis fornicator aut immundus, aut avarus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.* Item idem: *Imitatores mei estote* &c. (1 Cor. iv.)

21. Rabanus Maurus in loc. p. 444. vol. ii. gives first the passage from Hilarius Diaconus, which is our third number (p. 15.) and also at some distance below, our 8th number from Jerome.

22. Bruno Expositio in loc. Ideo hæc non nominentur in vobis quod qui hujusmodi est non habet hæreditatem in regno Dei. Vel ita: Non solum ideo non nominentur in vobis, quod non pertinent ad rem, sed etiam ideo quod auferunt regnum Dei..... Dum enim avarus magis diligit pecuniam quam Deum, eam sibi facit. Fornicator inquam, cum ille non habet hæreditatem in

regno

regno Christi et Dei: et ne ab hæreditate regni alieni sitis videte. Nemo seducat vos inanibus, &c.

23. Anselmus Cantuariensis. Tractatus Asceticus, c. iv. signature F f f f f (not paged.) Quæ etiam parimodo perniciosa esse, et æquali nos a regno Dei exclusione depellere edocet: *Illud autem scitote quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.* Et iterum *Nolite errare* &c. (1 Cor. vi. 5.)

24. Petr. Lombard in loc.—*in regno Christi et Dei.* Id est in regno cœlorum, quod est Patris et Filii. Sed attende &c.

25. Breviarium Fidei adversus Arianos p. 81. (Paris A.D. 1630. 8vo.) Tamen ut æqualitatem agnoscas, audi in scripturis ubi etiam prior Filius nominatur. Joannes Evangelista ait, In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum; in Verbo utique Filium indicavit. Et Apostolus ad Ephesios, *An nescitis quia omnis fornicator, et immundus non habet hæreditatem in regno Christi et Dei.* Ecce et hic priore loco Filius nominatur.

No. II.

1. AMBROSE. Comment. in loc. Ita ut clarificetur nomen Domini Jesu Christi in vobis, et vos in ipso, secundum gratiam Dei et Domini Jesu Christi]. Gaudio addit et preces, ut quia devoti sunt, dignetur Deus adjuvare eos, ut perficiant opus cœptum ad claritatem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, ut perseverantia discipulorum testimonium sit magistri ad gloriam.

2. Augustin, vol. iii. p. 597. in Speculo. The text, but without any remark or comment.

3. Sedulius Comment. ad loc. Nothing on the passge.

4. Remigii Comment. ad loc. Nothing on the passage.

5. Fulgentius. p. 698. Nec solum initium bonæ voluntatis et operis Deo assignat Apostolus, verum etiam ab ipso utrumque testatur impleri, dicens: *Ut dignetur vos vocatione sua Deus noster: ut impleat omnem voluntatem bonitatis, et opus fidei in virtute.* Et ut ostenderet hoc per gratiam fieri secutus adjunxit, ut clarificetur nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi in vobis et vos in illo secundum gratiam Dei nostri et Domini Jesu Christi. In illis ergo qui voluntarie salvantur gratia divina operatur ut velint: in illis autem qui nolunt humana duritia perseverat ut nolint.

6. Primasii Comment. ad loc. Secundum gratiam Dei nostri et Domini Jesu Christi.] Non secundum virtutem nostram, sed secundum gratiam Dei. Diligenter considera, quòd secundum gratiam Dei dixit, non secundum merita nostra.

7. Bedæ Commentar. ad loc. vol. vi. p. 944.—Secundum gratiam Dei nostri et Domini Jesu Christi.] Vocationem ad Dei propositum asserit pertinere. Unde dicit, non secundum opera nostra, sed secundum suum propositum ac gratiam. Et unde item dicit, scimus quoniam diligentibus Deum, omnia cooperantur

tur in bonum his qui secundum propositum vocati sunt sancti. De qua vocatione ait, ut dignos vos habeat vocatione suâ sanctâ. Rogamus autem vos, fratres, &c.

8. Rabanus Maurus Comment. in loc. p. 488.....*vos in ipso secundum gratiam Dei nostri et Domini Jesu Christi.* Pro his quæ talia sunt perseveramus pro vobis orantes, ita ut dignos vos bonorum illorum exhibeat Deus, in quorum et vocati estis fruitionem, implens vos omni bono et confortans ita ut, et in operibus, ostendatis fidem, et illa quæ ab adversariis inferuntur facile sustineatis: sic enim et Christus in vobis gloriosus secundum præsens seculum videbitur; quando cum alacritate acquiescitis pati pro eo: vosque, qui sic firmiter in eo credidistis, futuram fruimini gloriam, quam *sua gratia* sibi credentibus repromisit. Quæ ergo conveniebant dici ad laudem....et ad exhortationem....in hisce visus est (D. Paulus) scientiam consummâsse.

9. Brunonis Expositio ad loc. *Jesu Christi in vobis, et vos in illo, secundum gratiam Domini* (N. Dei not in the text) *nostri Jesu Christi.* Oramus etiam ut nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi in hoc mundo clarificetur in vobis secundum fidem agentibus: et ut vos in futuro in illo clarificemini, in illo remunerante vobis non secundum meritum vestrum; sed secundum abundantem gratiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

10. Anselmus Laudunensis in Loc. p. 340, *et vos in illo, secundum gratiam Dei nostri et Domini Jesu Christi.* Et vos in alia vita clarificemini in illo, et hoc secundum gratiam *Dei nostri Patris et Domini Jesu Christi*; id est secundum quod Pater et Filius per gratiam Sancti Spiritus electis suis gratuita bonitate tribuunt, supra quam mereri possunt.

11. Pet. Lombard in Loc. *et vos in illo* &c. Et vos in futuro clarificemini in illo, et hoc non secundum merita vestra, sed secundum gratiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi; id est, plus quam digni; vel sicut homo Christus clarificatus.

No. III.

1. HILARIUS Pictav. in Psalm 119. Aleph. p. 246.
2. Ejusdem in Psalm 119. Nun. p. 328.
3. Lucifer Calaritan. p. 268.
5. Ejusdem, p. 269.
6. Ambrosii Commentar. in loc.
7. Hieronymi, vol. v. p. 1092.
8. Augustinus in Speculo, vol. iii. p. 600.
9. Sedulii Commentar. in loc. p. 1122.
10. Remigii Commentar. in loc, p. 282.
11. Cassiodorus in psalm. 118. vol. ii. p. 399.
12. Ejusdem, vol. ii. p. 415.
13. Primasii Commentar. in loc. p. 441.
14. Bed. Commentar. in loc. vol. vi. p. 1000.
15. Concilium Cloveshoviæ 2, Anno Christi 747. Concil. vol. iii. p. 1948.
16. Rebani Mauri Comment. in loc.
17. Concilium Calchuthense, Anno Christi 787. Concil. vol. iii. p. 2074.
18. Brunonis Expositio in loc.

No. IV.

THE following are the places where I have observed the text (2 Tim. iv. 1.) in the Latin writers.

1. Ambrosii (i. e. Hilarii Diaconi) Comment. ad loc.
2. Augustini vol. v. p. 356.
3. Ejusdem vol. vi. p. 505.
4. Ejusdem vol. ix. p. 267.
5. Fulgentii de Fide ad Petr. Diacon. p. 490.
7. Ejusdem excerpta contra Fabianum, p. 72.
8. Sedulius ad loc. p. 1126.
9. Cassiodori Complexiones ad loc. p. 83.
10. Primasius ad loc. p. 458.
11. Gregorii Magni, vol. ii. p. 8.
12. Beda ad Loc. vol. vi. p. 1034.
13. Rabanus Maurus ad Loc. p. 517.
14. Bruno ad Loc.
15. Anselmus Laudunensis ad Loc. p. 377.
16. Petr. Lombard ad Loc.

Rabanus Maurus is the only one of the above who reads, "In "conspectu Dei et *Domini* nostri."

No. V.

1. De Vocatione Omnium Gentium apud Prosper. p. 877. " Item idem in secundâ Epistolâ de fidei perceptione sic loquitur. *Simon Petrus servus et Apostolus Jesu Christi his qui coæqualem nobis adepti sunt fidem per justitiam Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.* Unde autem habeatur Spiritus Fidei Joannes Apostolus manifestissime docet, dicens, &c."

2. Beda ad Loc. vol. v. p. 990. " In justitia Dei nostri et Salvatoris Jesu Christi.—Illis ergo scribit Epistolam, qui coæqualem sibi sortiti sunt fidem, et hanc per opera justitiæ exercent: ejus videlicet justitiæ, quam non humana prudentia repperit, nec legalis institutio docet, sed per Evangelium loquens Dominus et Salvator noster ostendit, cum ait, *Nisi abundaverit justitia vestra*, &c."

3. Aquinas ad Loc.

—" Dei nostri, scilicet Christi, secundum Divinitatem effectivè: et Salvatoris Jesu Christi secundum humanitatem meritoriè.

No. VI.

GREEK AUTHORS.

First Century.

1. Patres Apostolici, viz. Barnabas, Clemens Romanus, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, &c. Apostolicæ Constitutiones, Homiliæ Clementinæ, &c. 2 vol. fol. Antwerp. 1700.

2. Grabe's Spicilegium Patrum. 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford, 1698, &c.

Second Century.

3. Justin Martyr. Coloniæ, 1686. fol.

Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo. Edit. Jebb. London, 1719. 8vo.

Apologiæ. Edit. Ashton. Cambridge, 1768. 8vo.

4. Irenæus. Paris, 1710. fol. Edit. Benedictin.

5. Theophilus Antiochenus. Colon. 1686. fol. with Justin Martyr, Tatianus, &c.

6. Tatianus. Colon. 1686. Oxford 1700. Edit. Worth. 8vo.

7. Athenagoras. Colon. 1686.

8. Hermias. Oxford 1700. 8vo.

9. Clemens Alexandrinus. 2 vol. fol. Oxford. 1715. Edit. Potter.

Third Century.

10. Hippolytus. 2 Vol. fol. Hamburgh, 1716. Edit. Fabricius.

11. Origen. Vol. 1st and 2d. Paris, 1733. fol. Edit. Benedictin.

Commentaria. 2 vols. fol. Paris 1679. Edit. Huetius.

See also Griesbach's Symbolæ Criticæ, vol. ii. which contains an accurate transcript of all the quotations from the New Testament in the genuine works of Origen.

12. Gregorius Thaumaturgus. Paris 1622. fol.

13. Methodius Patarensis. Paris 1644. fol.

Fourth Century.

14. Eusebius.

Preparatio Evanglica. Paris, 1628. fol.

Demonstratio Evongelica. Also, Contra Hieroclem, Adversus Marcellum, and De Ecclesiastica Theologia. Paris 1628. fol.

Historia Ecclesiastica. Cambridge, 1720. fol. Edit. Reading.

Commentaria in Psalmos et Hesaiam. Paris, 1706. fol. in the Collectio Nova Patrum Græcorum by Montfaucon.

15. Athanasius. 2 vols. fol. Paris, 1698.

Opuscula et Fragmenta, Paris, 1706. in the Collectio Nova by Mountfaucon.

16. Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus. Paris, 1720. fol. Edit. Benedictin.

17. Dionysius Areopagitic. Paris, 1615. fol.

18. Titus Bostrensis. Biblioth. Patrum Front. Ducæi. vol. ii. Latine Ingolstad. 1580. 12mo.

Libri tres contra Manichæos. in Canisii Lection. Antiq. vol. i.

19. Epiphanius. Paris, 1622. 2 vols. fol.

20. Ephræm Syrus. Oxf. 1709. fol.

Opera. Latine per Gerard. Vossium. Colon. 1616. fol.

21. Basilius Magnus. Paris, 1721. 3 vols. fol. Edit. Benedict.

22. Gregory Nyssen. Paris, 1615. 2 vols. fol.

23. Gregory Nazianzen. Paris 1630. 2 vols. fol.

24. Amphilochius Cappadox. Paris 1644. fol.

25. Didymus Alexandrinus.

Enarrationes in Epistolas Canonicas; et De Spiritu Sancto (ex interpretatione Hieronymi) Latine. Colon. 1531. 12mo.

26. Macarius Magnus. Paris, 1621. fol.

27. Nemesius

27. Nemesius. Oxf. 1671.

28. Joannes Hierosolymitanus. Brussels, 1643. fol.

29. Chrysostom. Paris, 1718. 13 vols. fol. Edit. Benedict.

Fifth Century.

30. Asterius Amaseius, in Auctar. Biblioth. Patr. per Combefis. Paris 1648.

31. Marcus Asceta. Paris 1563. 8vo.

32. Victor Antiochenus in Marcum. Ingolstad. 1580. Latine

33. Philo Carpasius.

Enarratio in Canticum Canticor. Romæ, 1772. 4to.

34. Severianus Syrus, published among the works of Chrysostom.

35. Synesius. Paris, 1633. fol.

36. Isidorus Pelusiota. Paris, 1638. fol.

37. Cyrillus Alexandrinus. 6 vols. fol. Paris, 1638.

38. Theodoret. 5 vols. fol. Paris, 1642.

38*. Theodotus Ancyranus. Paris, 1675. 12mo.

39. Proclus. Romæ, 1630. 4to.

40. Socrates Scholasticus. Paris, 1668.

41. Hermias Sozomenus. Paris, 1668.

42. Nilus Monachus. Romæ, 1668. 2 vols. fol.

43. Basilius Seleuciensis. Paris, 1622. fol.

44 Euthalius. Romæ, 1698. 4to.

Sixth Century.

45. Procopius Gazæus.

In Esaiam. Paris 1580. fol.

In Libros Regum et Paralipomenon. Lug. Bat. 1620. 4to.

46. Joannes Maxentius. Colon. 1526. 12mo.

47. Cosmas Ægyptius. Paris, 1706. fol. in Novâ Collect. Patr. per Montfaucon.

48. Arethas. Paris, 1631. fol.

49. Gregentii Disputatio cum Herbano Judæo. Paris, 1586. 8vo.

50. Anastasius Sinaita.

Dux viæ. Ingolstad. 1606. 4to.

Quæstiones. Ingolstad. 1617. 4to.

In Hexaemeron. Lib. 12. Lond. 1682. 4to.

51. Joannes Climacus. Paris, 1633. fol.

52. Leontius Byzantinus, De Sectis. Basil. 1578. 8vo.

53. Evagrius Scholasticus. Paris, 1673. fol.

Seventh Century.

54. Hesychius Hierosolymitanus. Paris, 1563. 8vo.

55. Antiochus Monachus. Biblioth. Patr. Front. Duc. Paris 1624. vol. i.

56. Andreas Damascenus. Paris 1644. fol.

57. Maximus Confessor. Paris, 1675. 2 vols. fol.

58. Theodorus Presbyter. Genevæ, 1576. 4to.

Eighth Century.

59. Theodorus Studites.

Epistolæ, &c. Paris 1696. Apud Jac. Sirmondi opera. vol. v. fol.

Sermones Catechetici. Latine. Antwerp, 1602. 8vo.

60. Photius.

Bibliotheca. 1611. fol. Edit. Hoeschel.

Epistolæ. Londin. 1651. fol.

Ex Amphilochiis. ap. Wolfii Curas Philolog. in N. Test. vol. v. 4to.

De Divinitate & Incarnatione. Latine. Apud Canisii Lection. Antiq. vol. 2.

61. Theodorus Abucara. Ingolstad. 1606. 4to.

62. Petrus Siculus de Manichæorum Hæresi. Ingolstad. 1604. 4to.

Tenth Century.

63. Œcumenius. 2 vols. fol. Paris 1631.

Eleventh

Eleventh Century.

64. Theophanes Cerameus. Paris 1644. fol.

65. Theophylact.

In quatuor Evangelia. Paris, 1635. fol.

In Acta Apostolorum. Colon. 1567. fol.

In Epistolas D. Pauli. Londin. 1636. fol.

Epistolæ. Lugd. Bat. 1617. 4to.

Institutio Regia. Paris 1651. 4to.

Twelfth Century.

66. Euthymius Zigabenus.

In quatuor Evangelia. Latine. Paris, 1544. 8vo.

In Psalmos. Latine. Paris, 1562. 8vo.

Panoplia Dogmatica. Latine. Venet. 1555. fol.

67. Antonius Melissa. Aurel. Allobrog. 1609. fol. ad calcem Stobæi.

68. Theorianus. Basil. 1578. 8vo.

Thirteenth Century.

69. Nicetas Acominatus.

Orthodoxæ fidei Thesaurus. Latine. Genevæ, 1592. 8vo.

70. Germanus Patriarcha. Biblioth. Patr. a Front. Ducæo. vol. ii. Paris, 1624. fol.

Fourteenth Century.

71. Emanuel Calecas.

De Essentia & operatione &c. item, Principia Fidei Orthodoxæ. Paris, 1672. fol. in Auctario noviss. per Combefis.

LATIN

LATIN WRITERS.

Second Century.

1. TERTULLIAN. Paris. 1675. fol.

Third Century.

2. Minucius Felix. Lugd. Bat. 1652. 4to.
3. Cyprian. Paris, 1726. fol. Edit. Benedictin.
4. Novatianus. Oxf. 1724. 8vo.

Fourth Century.

5. Arnobius Afer. Lugd. Bat. 1651, 4to.
6. Lactantius Firmianus. Lugd. Bat. 1660. 8vo.
7. Jul. Firmic. Maternus. Lugd. Bat. 1652. 4to.
8. Hilarius Pictaviensis. Paris, 1693. fol. Edit. Bededictin.
9. Lucifer Calaritanus. Paris, 1568. 8vo.
10. Hilarius Diaconus. Paris, 1686. fol. among the works of Ambrose. (below No. 15.).
11. Phœbadius Contra Arianos, 1570. 8vo.
12. Fab. Mar. Victorinus. Paris, 1630. 8vo.
13. Optatus Milevitanus. Paris, 1700. fol.
14. Pacianus. Romæ, 1564. fol.
15. Ambrose. Paris. 1686. 2 vol. fol. Edit. Benedictin.
16. Jerome. Paris. 1699. 5 vol. fol. Edit. Benedict.
17. Nemesius. De Natura Hominis. Oxf. 1671. 8vo.
18. Philastrius. Helmœstad, 1614. 4to.
19. Faustinus. Oxf. 1678. 8vo.
20. Idacius Clarus. Basil. apud Hæreseolog. p. 253-299.
21. Gaudentius. Biblioth. Max. vol. ii. p. 1.
22. Ruffinus Aquileiensis.

Opuscula. Paris, 1580. fol.

In 75 Davidis Psalmos. Lugd. 1750. fol.

23. Augustin. Antwerp, 1700. 11 vols. fol.

Fifth Century.

24. Pelagius. Expositio in Epistolas Paulinas. inter. Opera Hieronymi.

25. Marius Mercator. Paris, 1673. fol.

26. Leporius. Isaac ex Judæo, et Capreolus. Paris, 1630. 8vo.

27. Maximus Taurinensis. Paris, 1661. fol.

28. Joannes Cassianus. Duaci, 1616. 8vo.

29. Petrus Chrysologus. Paris, 1661. fol.

30. Eucherius. Antwerp, 1602. 8vo.

31 Cœlius Sedulius. Biblioth. Max. vol. i.

32. Vincentius Lirinensis. Cambr. 1689. 12mo.

33. Valerianus. Paris, 1661. fol.

34. Leo I. Magnus. Paris, 1661. fol.

35. Prosper Aquitanus. Item Pomerius de Vita Contemplativa. Paris, 1711. fol.

36. Remigius Remensis. Same as Nos. 49 and 51.

37. Vigilius Tapsensis. Divione, 1664, 4to.

38. Victor Vitensis. Divione, 1664. 4to.

Sixth Century.

39. Fulgentius. Paris, 1661. fol.

Excerpta ex Fulgentii Libris contra Fabianum Arianum. Paris, 1643. 8vo.

40. Cassiodorus.

Opera. 2 vol. fol. Rotomag. 1679.

Complexiones in Epistolas, Acta Apostolorum et Apocalypsin. Florence, 1721. 8vo.

41. Facundus Hermianensis. Paris, 1679. fol.

42. Primasius.

In Epistolas D. Pauli. Lugdun. 1537. 8vo.

In Apocalypsin. Colon. 1535. 12mo.

43. Gregorius Magnus. Paris, 1705. 4 vol. fol. Edit. Benedict.

44. Isodorus

44. Isidorus Junior. Colon. Agrippin. 1617.

Seventh Century.

45. Julianus Pomerius. Orthodoxographa. vol. ii. p. 1967, &c.

Eighth Century.

46. Beda. N. examined only the Commentary on St. Paul's, (by many ascribed to Florus Magister,) and on the Catholic Epistles. Works. vol. v.

47. Alcuinus. Paris, 1617. fol.

48 Theodolphus. Paris, 1646. 8vo.

Ninth Century.

49 Haymonis Commentar. in D. Pauli Epistolas. Mogunt. 1614. fol.

50. Rabanus Maurus. Only the Commentary on St. Paul.

51. Remigius Antissiodorensis. Same as No. 49.

Eleventh Century.

52. Lanfrancus. Paris, 1648. fol.

53. Bruno. Expositio in Omnes D. Pauli Epistolas. Paris, 1509.

54. Anselmus Cantuar. Paris, 1721. fol.

Twelfth Century.

55. Anselmi Laudunensis (nonnullis Hervei Dolensis) Commentar. in Epistolas D. Pauli. Colon. 1612. fol.

56. Petri Lombardi Commentarius in omnes D. Pauli Epistolas, 1535. fol.

Thirteenth Century.

57. Thomæ Aquinatis in omnes D. Pauli, et in omnes Canonicas Epistolas, Commentaria. Antwerp, 1591. fol.

COLLECTIONS.

COLLECTIONS.

1. ORTHODOXOGRAPHA. Basil. 1569. 2 vol. fol.

2. Hæreseologia. Basil, 1556. fol.

3. Canisii Lectiones Antiquæ. Edit. Basnage. 4 vol. fol. Amsterdam.

4. Bibliotheca Veter. Patrum Græcolatina. Paris, 1624. 3 vol. fol. (Front. Ducæus.)

5. Græcolat. Patrum Bibliothecæ novum Auctarium. per Franc. Combefis. Paris, 1648. 2 vol. fol.

6. Bibliothecæ Græcor. Patrum Auctarium novissimum, per Franc. Combefis. Paris, 1672. fol.

7. Græcia Orthodoxa. Rome, 1652. 2 vol. 4to. per Leon. Allatium.

8. Sirmondi Opera. Paris, 1696. 5 vol. fol.

9. Thesaurus Asceticus per Petr. Possinum. Tolosæ, 1684, 4to.

10. Originum Rerumque Constantinopolitan. manipulus per F. Combefis. Paris, 1664. 4to.

11. Ecclesiæ Græcæ Monumenta. Paris, 1677 3 vol. 4to.

12. Analecta Græca. vol. 1 Lutet. Paris, 1688. 4to.

13. Muratorii Anecdota Græca. Patavii, 1709. 4to.

14. Zacagnii Collectanea Ecclesiæ Græcæ ac Latinæ. tom. 1. Romæ, 1698, 4to.

15. Collectio nova Patrum & Scriptorum Græcorum, Studio Bern. Montfaucon. Paris, 1706, 2 vol. fol.

16. Bibliotheca Coisliniana, Studio D. B. De Montfaucon. Paris, 1715. fol.

17. Conciliorum Collectio Regia, 12 vol. fol. Paris, 1715.

18. Catena Græcor. Patrum in D. Joannem Studio Balthaz. Corderii. Antwerp, 1630. fol.

19. Catena

19. Catena Græcor: Patrum in Psalmos per Balt. Corderium. Antwerp, 1643. 3 vols. fol.

29. Symbolæ Græcor. Patrum in D. Matthæum per Balth. Corder. et Petr: Possin. Tolosæ, 1646. 2 vol. fol.

21. Catena Græcor. Patrum in D: Marcum, Collectore Petr. Possino. Romæ, 1673. fol.

22. Catena Græcorum Patrum in B. Job. collectore Niceta. Lond. 1637. fol.

The following were occasionally Examined.

23. Bibliotheca Maxima. Paris, 1644: 17 vols. fol.

24. Mabillonii Analecta. 4 vol. 8vo.

25. Baluzii Miscellanea. 4 vols. 8vo.

26. Muratorii Anecdota Latina.

27. Dacherii Spicelegium. 10 vols. 4to.

28. Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum, studio Dom. Edm. Martene et Ursin: Durand. 5 vol. fol.

N. Of Greek writings which I have not had the opportunity of consulting, I know none more important than what may be contained in the following:

Ephræm Syrus, 6 vol. fol. 1743.

Anastasius Sinaita, 4 vol. fol. 1718.

Theophylact, 3 vol. fol. 1754.

Wolfii Anecdota, 1722.

THE END.

CORRIGENDA.

PAGE	5.	*Last line.*	For eel,	*Read* feel.
——	14.	*line* 4.	— τη,	—— τῃ.
——	14.	— 7.	— νιοθεσια	—— νἱοθεσια.
——	35.	— 17.	— γε ννας,	—— γεννας.
——	40.	— 4.	— he,	—— Christ.
——	103.	— 12.	Dele Apostolus.	
——	106.	*Last line.*	For ctorinus,	*Read* Victorinus.
——	112.	— 12.	— dictate,	—— deitate.
——	116.	— 23.	— .	—— ,
——	118.	— 13.	— διων,	—— ιδιων.
——	120.	— 27.	— χαϱων,	—— χαϱαν.
——	142.	— 17.	— Rebani,	—— Rabani.

Thomas Falconer 1804

SIX MORE LETTERS

TO

GRANVILLE SHARP, Esq.

ON

HIS REMARKS

UPON

THE USES OF THE ARTICLE

IN THE

GREEK TESTAMENT.

By GREGORY BLUNT, Esq.

For now our Saviour's deity must be tried by a kind of school-divinity, and the most fundamental doctrine, maintained as such by the Catholic church, must be examined, censured, and condemned by ὁ, ἡ, τὸ.

BISHOP PEARSON ON THE CREED.

London:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD.

MDCCCIII.

By T. Gillet, Salisbury Square.

Since these Letters were written, I find, from the British Critic for July, 1802, that the author of the first Six anonymous Letters is a *Mr. C. Wordsworth*, of Trinity College, Cambridge, who, as those critics inform me, is not anxious to be concealed. This intelligence, however, coming so late, I have suffered all mention of this gentleman, in the following correspondence, to stand just as it did before the discovery was made.

PREFACE.

THE "Remarks" of Mr. Granville Sharp "on the use of the definitive article in the greek "text of the New Testament, containing many new "proofs of the divinity of Christ," have been recently republished; and "a plain argument from the "gospel history," in favour of the same design, has been superadded by the friendly hand of the editor, the rev. Thomas Burgess, prebendary of Durham. Another writer has also very lately given to the world, in a separate publication, some further supplementary observations respecting the subject of the "Remarks," in "Six Letters," addressed to the worthy author.

The general rule laid down, and the proposition maintained by Mr. Sharp is the following:—"When "the copulative και connects two nouns of the same "case, [viz. nouns (either substantive, or adjective, "or participles) of personal description respecting "office, dignity, affinity, or connection, and attri-"butes, properties or qualities good or ill] if the "article ὁ, or any of its cases, precedes the first of "the said nouns or participles, and is not repeated "before the second noun or participle, the latter "always relates to the same person that is expressed

" or described by the first noun or participle: i. e. " it denotes a further description of the first named " person."—And this rule, with such subsequent qualifications as the stress of the occasion calls for, he proceeds to illustrate by examples.

The doctrine of the trinity is pretty generally admitted to be in its wane by critical scholars and rational christians, whose opinions are not specially retained, and whose judgment is not infected by the accommodating fever of a temporary orthodoxy. Indeed, it should seem, from the apparent anxiety and distress of Mr. Sharp and his associates, that these gentlemen considered themselves as physicians, whose assistance and skill were invited to a consultation *in articulo mortis*. Desperate cases will invite, and sometimes excuse and even justify, desperate applications: but we must, at the same time, confess, without any reproach to the faculty, that it not seldom happens under these circumstances that the patient is passed to " that undis- " cover'd country, from whose bourn no traveller " returns;" and it only remains for his friends to prepare for the funeral.

This is conceived to be the present case, with respect to this theological invention; and the following " Six more Letters" are now published to demonstrate the fact. The author was invited to enter the lists; and the editor, who affects not, like Falstaff, " to be witty in himself," is satisfied with the remaining part of his pretensions, and highly gratified with having " been the cause of wit in another " man."

"man." He is proud of being accessory to the production of the following pages: and if the estimate he has made of the labours of his friend be correct, they will decide the controversy; and leave the remarker, the plain-arguer, and the original letter-writer, without resource for any other replication than an ingenuous retractation of their errors.

With respect to the "Appendix" subjoined, it is sufficient to say, that it is no easy matter to discern how either the premises or the conclusion, as they affect the character of Moses, can be denied by a believer in the divinity of Jesus Christ, consistently with the most approved arguments adduced, not merely by Messrs. Sharp, Burgess, and Wordsworth, but by the best efforts of the best advocates. Indeed, it might be generally observed, without stating a novelty, or offending a prejudice, that it will be very difficult to distinguish between the evidence and reasoning which will justify the belief in the protestant trinity, and will not extend to the like justification of the papist's transubstantiation: nor will the embarrassment be found to be less in attempting to discriminate between the pretension of one church to infallibility, and the formal renunciation of it by another, so long as we practically observe, that while the elder sister is always right, the younger is never wrong. We know the reply to the question,—Where was the religion of protestants before Luther? It was, where it now is, in the Bible; and consistent christians and consistent protestants will never look for it elsewhere.

We

We have been often told that these things are mysteries; but the answer is coeval with this apology for systems, and entirely satisfactory;—where mystery begins, religion ends.

It would, indeed, be very extraordinary if the absolute unity and supremacy of the deity, proclaimed and established by the confession of all nature,* and by the concurring tenor and testimony

* The reader may be referred to the evidence adduced by Dr. Paley, in his late incomparable work, "Natural Theology," in which he has greatly improved upon the manner and extent of matter of Ray and Derham. I am, however, aware of the prudential protest entered by the author against this conclusion being drawn from his general argument. "Certain however it "is," says he, "that the whole argument for the divine unity "goes no further than to an unity of counsel." (p. 487.) But, gentle reader, it may peradventure appear to be no less certain that this qualification of the effect of his labors, is nothing less than subversive of his whole argument. I feel no hesitation in saying that this book carries equal conviction to my mind of the unity of the designer as of the unity of design and counsel. And the saving protest looks more like tendering a composition with his orthodox creditors, than being prepared to meet the legitimate conclusion of his premises. The whole of his admirable work is immediately calculated to prove not only the existence, wisdom, and goodness, but therewith the proper and absolute unity of the deity; and it can only be by travelling out of the record, or by falsifying it, that any other system can be plausibly maintained.

One might, indeed, advert to a further intimation of the writer's doctrinal creed, by referring to a short note (p. 566.), in which his benevolence states the possibility of "the propi- "tiatory virtue of Christ's passion" to extend even to "that "part of mankind who never heard of his name."—But he apologizes for this obtrusion by instantly observing; "this is "not

of the jewish and christian revelations, could be affected by the fanciful or forced construction of a greek article, to be found in a few scattered passages of the christian scriptures. And it is seriously to be hoped, for the honor of true religion and sound learning, that the writings of these gentlemen will be the last among the many futile expedients which have been undesignedly used by many good, and, in other respects, able men, to corrupt and misconstrue the sacred text, and consequently to mislead its readers. It is by such criticisms and such deductions, of which we now complain, that scholars and divines have so greatly impeded the gospel of Christ from having its free course, and from working conviction on the minds of sceptics and unbelievers; and, eventually, have very greatly contributed to preclude it from having its proper effect on the hearts and lives of mankind.

It can never be sufficiently lamented in the christian world, that in direct violation of the repeated declarations of our meek and humble master, so many of his disciples should still contend, and, in some cases, contend with much unchristian violence, that "our lord Jesus Christ," who was born of woman, and had not where to lay his head,—

"not natural theology;" and therefore adds—"I will not dwell "longer upon it."

Dr. Paley had made the same representation on a former occasion, and in a more proper place. See his "View of the Evi- "dences of Christianity," part ii. ch. ii. and part iii. ch. vii. in the 2d edit. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 24, note, and 384.

who

who increased in wisdom as he grew in stature,—who suffered death and was buried,—" is truly " GOD!"

Nevertheless, I am persuaded that the christian world will, in some future day, witness the abandonment of all the exploded evidences and arguments, and all the diversified representation of the various invention and ingenuity of the apologists of our several prejudices. But, in the mean time, and while the reproach of impiety* is applied to the worshippers of the ONE GOD, JEHOVAH; it is well deserving of some people's very serious attention to consider, whether the reproach of idolatry does not apply with greater truth to every modification of religious worship which unites any other being, as an object of religious homage, with the peerless and unrivalled majesty of the one only true God.

It is unworthy of a gentleman of Mr. Sharp's amiable character, that he should have incautiously attempted to excite an odium against unitarian christians by uniting them with mahometans.† Such insidious reflection has, indeed, been made to meet the vulgar ear not long ago, by the child and champion of all violence and scurrility, as well ecclesiastical as civil: but such men lose no character by using foul language; and hard words from men of this description, while they can only recoil upon themselves,

* See Remarks, p. 42 and 51.

† See p. 53 and note p. 55. And for a very satisfactory replication to the harsh and uncharitable way in which Mr. Sharp has spoken of Unitarian Christians, see p. 159–167 of the following Letters.

fall

fall harmless to the ground with respect to others. But it is very clear, at least it appears so to me, that because Moses, Christ, and Mahomet worshipped one and the same God, it cannot be any greater reproach to one more than to another of their respective disciples, who agree with their masters in this doctrine, for doing the same thing. And Mr. Sharp should be the last man to renounce brotherhood with any professing fellow-christian, or to insult either jew or mahometan by leaguing him with any "christian fools," who has himself so unceasingly and commendably maintained, that "Mungo is a man."

Whatever difference of opinion may for the present prevail in the christian world in respect to the doctrine of the trinity, or any other particular doctrine, concerning which our christian lawgiver allows the fullest latitude of inquiry,—there exists a pretty general agreement in respect to the nature and obligation of christian morals. And it is a consideration of great importance, and deserving the serious attention of theological students, and not of them only, but of theological readers and of professing christians of every description, that they are, from the principles of their common master, and of their common belief in his mission, not merely to tolerate each other in their diversity of opinions, (which presupposes an authority not to be found in the gospel;) but to allow each other to exercise the same liberty which they enjoy themselves, and to love each other unfeignedly, as fel-

low-creatures of the same God, and fellow-disciples of the same master. For, christian love or charity, cultivated in the mind, and exhibited in practice, is the best evidence of any man's fulfilling the christian law.

December 6, 1802.

SUMMARY

SUMMARY OF

MR. SHARP's RULES, LIMITATIONS,

AND

MISTRANSLATED TEXTS.

WITH A FEW BRIEF REMARKS.

AS the main spring of Mr. Sharp's machine for turning man into God is couched in the *first* of his rules relative to the uses of the article, that is the only one which is examined at large in the following letters: but his other rules, 'intended to illustrate the particularity of that first,' being occasionally alluded to, they are here subjoined and explained by an example to each, together with Mr. Sharp's exceptions and limitations, for the convenience of the reader. With a view to his further convenience, Mr. Sharp's wrought goods, or samples of his 'new' mode of manufacturing a godman, are likewise annexed, that the reader may see the working of the machine exemplified in correcting, or rather corrupting, the common english version of the New Testament.

RULES.

1. See this first and principal rule (exclusive of limitations) in page 10 of the following letters.
2. All other things remaining as in the first rule, if the copulative be omitted, and the article be

repeated before the second noun, thus, "*the* "God, *the* father of our lord," then the two nouns relate to the *same* subject.

3. If the copulative be omitted, and the article be *not* repeated, thus, "the God, father of our "lord," the nouns also relate to the *same* subject.

This rule, according to Mr. Sharp's wording, (which I have not adopted in any of the rules) is very confused. In his table of contents, p. xii. the first noun is required by this rule to have the article before it; but, when the rule is delivered more at length, and exemplified in page 10 of his Remarks, it is not specified whether there is, or is not, to be an article before the first noun. Of his four examples by which this rule is illustrated, only one, that from Ephes. v. 20. has the article before the first noun, and in this example, one of the nouns is a proper name. In his third example, from Tit. i. 1. it seems, from his mode of printing, as if he considered the proper name *Paul* as one of his nouns: and between those two which are not proper names, but personal nouns, the copulative καὶ cannot be properly said to be omitted, because the latter of the nouns being followed by δὲ, the copulative καὶ could no more be inserted, and therefore can no more be said to be omitted, between the two, than between an adjective

tive and its substantive. The copulative καὶ, either inserted or omitted, expressed or understood, is quite incompatible with the whole turn and tenor of the sentence. And in his last example from 1 Tim. i. 1. it is not clear which of the many nouns it contains, a man so inaccurate as Mr. Sharp, who violates his own rules and limitations with so little scruple, means to fix upon as illustrative of his rule.

4. If the nouns be not personal [for the meaning of this term see the limitations], as in this example, "*grace*, *mercy*, *peace*, from God," &c. (1 Tim. i. 2.) they relate to *different* subjects.

This rule is very loosely worded, nothing being specified, or settled, as to the omission or insertion of either article or copulative. All Mr. Sharp's examples of this rule, given in page 11 of his Remarks, are without both.

5. If there be no article before the first noun, and the copulative be inserted between the two, as for instance, "God *and* father of," &c. the nouns relate to *different* subjects.

It is not here said either in Mr. Sharp's table of contents, or in his Remarks (page 12), whether there is, or is not, to be an article before the second noun: but in a reference made to this rule, at the beginning of the next (Rem. p. 13), it seems as if both the nouns were required to be without articles; and in all the examples given in page 12,

all the nouns are without. In the table of contents, the nouns are limited to personal; but in the Remarks (p. 12), the rule has 'person or *thing*,' and in the examples, the impersonal are more numerous than the personal nouns.

The english example, which I have given as an illustration of this rule, though it exactly corresponds to the description required in the rule, will probably, to an english reader conversant with such forms of expression, sound rather as a contradiction to the rule. And Mr. Sharp's example, taken from Ephes. vi. 23, when understood, or translated, as it ought to be (see, for the meaning of this text, the note in p. 158 of the following letters) does actually contradict, instead of confirming, his fifth rule; tho' he chooses to understand it otherwise. The fact is, that expressions, circumstanced either according to this or the next rule, are ambiguous, referring sometimes to *different*, and sometimes to the *same* subject. See the observation on the next rule. Mr. Sharp excepts from this rule all forms of expression in which the numeral adjective *one* precedes the first noun, as in Ephesians iv. 6.

6. If each of the nouns have the article, and the copulative be likewise inserted between them, as, "*the* God *and the* father of," &c. they relate to *different* subjects.

In

In Mr. Sharp's table of contents, this rule (and indeed all the others, except the fourth) is restricted to personal nouns. But in the examples by which he confirms this rule, in pages 13 and 14, a great majority of his nouns consists of impersonals. From his fifth and sixth rules he excepts all those expressions in which 'the context 'plainly points out that different actions 'are intended to be attributed to *one and* 'the same person,' such as, 1 Thess. iii. 6. John xx. 28. 1 Cor. i. 24. Acts ii. 36. Rev. i. 17, 18. xx. 2. Thus the reader is left to the context alone to ascertain whether the nouns relate to the same, or to a different person: that is, the fifth and sixth rules are no rules at all. This is frankly acknowledged to be the case by the 'honest 'compiler' of the first *Six Letters* to Mr. Sharp (see p. 115 of those letters, or p. 35 of the following *Six More Letters)*, who says, that the forms of expression in these two rules 'may be used indifferently of '*one* or *two* persons.'

LIMITATIONS.

The nouns must be 1st, *personal* nouns, i. e. descriptive of some office, dignity, affinity, connection, attributes, properties, or qualities good or ill: 2dly, *not plural:* [Query, whether Mr. Sharp means by

this description to exclude nouns of the *dual* number?]: 3dly, *not proper names.*

These rules and limitations are delivered and supported by the original inventor with a haziness which few foggy, shuffling trinitarians have exceeded, and transgressed with a bold freedom which few 'impious, or apostate, socinian sadducees,' have equalled: as must be tolerably apparent from the foregoing enumeration of them, and also from pages 6—8, 43, 44, of the following letters; and may be more fully manifested by a diligent comparison of Mr. Sharp's table of contents with the body of his Remarks, and with the examples contained in them.

TEXTS, OR SAMPLES,

Of Mr. Sharp's 'new' mode of correcting, *or* corrupting, *the common english version of the New Testament.*

COMMON VERSION.	CORRUPTED VERSION. *Unaccommodated.*
"In the kingdom of Christ, and of God." Ephes. v. 5.	"In the kingdom of Christ, even of God." (*Contents & Rem.* p. 31.)
	The same, translated by *hook*, and *accommodated* with italics and an interpolation. "In the kingdom of [*Jesus*] the Christ and God." (*Remarks*, p. 31.)

The *meaning* of this text is probably; "In the "kingdom of Christ, which is that of God." See the

the sense of the passage fully investigated, and Mr. Sharp's, and Mr. Wordsworth's, explanations confuted, in p. 73—84 of the following letters.

Common Version.	Corrupted Version.
	Translated by *crook*, or 'little transposition.' (*Rem.* p. 21.) and *accommodated* with a new theory of punctuation. (ibid. p. 35.)
"According to the grace of our God, and the lord Jesus Christ." 2 Thess. i. 12.	"According to the grace of Jesus Christ, our God & Lord." (*Contents* and *Rem.* p. 37.)

In the original the apostle Paul here declares the God *of us* to be Lord *of Jesus Christ*. See p. 84, 85, of the following letters.

	Translated by *crook*, and *accommodated* with the new theory of punctuation.
"Before God and the Lord Jesus Christ." 1 Tim. v. 21.—2 Tim. iv. 1.	"Before Jesus Christ the God and Lord." (*Rem.* p. 39, 40, 41.)
	The same, by *crook*, and *accommodated* with a pronoun.
	"Before Jesus Christ, our God and Lord." (*Contents.*)

In the original the same apostle here *again* declares the God of us to be God and Lord *of Jesus Christ*. See p. 85, 86, of the following letters.

	Translated by *crook*, and *accommodated* with the new theory of punctuation.
"Of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ." Tit. ii. 13.	"Of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ." (*Contents*, and *Rem.* p. 22, 43, 44.)

See

See the erroneous exposition of this text, given by Messrs. Sharp, Wordsworth, and Burgess, amply detected, and the common version of *that part* of the verse which is here quoted, established, in page 86—97 of the following letters. In the former part of the verse, the words *the glorious appearing*, seem to stand in need of a little correction; and Mr. Sharp, in one of his renderings, has silently changed them into *appearance of the glory* (*Rem.* p. 44). This, tho' not quite the thing, is the best of all his attempts at correcting the common english version of the New Testament.

Common Version.	Corrupted Version. By *crook*.
"Through the righteousness of God, and our saviour Jesus Christ." 2 Pet. i. 1.	"Through the righteousness of Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour." (*Contents*, and *Rem.* p. 46.)

In the original it is here declared by *another* apostle, that the God *of us* is the Saviour *of Jesus Christ*. See p. 98—100 of the following letters.

	Accommodated with a magnifying glass which turns points into lines, and separation into connection. (*Rem.* p. 43, 48.)
"Denying the only lord God, and our lord Jesus Christ." Jude 4.	"Denying our only Master, God, and Lord, Jesus Christ." (*Contents*, and *Rem.* p. 50.)

See the common version vindicated in p. 100—105 of the following letters.

	Mr. Wordsworth's corruption.
"James a servant of God, and of the lord Jesus Christ." James i. 1.	"James a servant of Jesus Christ, God and Lord." (Words. *Six Letters*, p. 114.)

In

In the original it is here declared by a *third* apostle, that GOD is LORD *of Jesus Christ.* See the text explained in p. 106—109 of the following letters.

That GOD is LORD of Jesus as much as of any other mere man, is also declared in many other places of the original, where it does not appear in 'the common english version,' and more particularly in the apostolical salutations. See several such passages enumerated in the note, p. 158 of the following letters. And compare these passages with Matt. xxvii. 46. John xx. 17. Ephes. i. 17. and with 1 Tim. v. 21. 2 Tim. iv. 1. as translated in page 86 of the following letters.

Mr. Sharp has somehow contrived, it is not clear, (few things in his pamphlet are clear) whether by *hook*, or by *crook*, to *make examples* of two other passages of scripture, which the reader would not expect to find so *conspicuously* pilloried in his *Remarks.* No one, certainly, could expect from his title-page, in which he does not profess to travel beyond the received 'greek text,' to correct any thing more than 'the common english version' of it, or to give 'new proofs' of the divinity of any other person of his trinity than the second, to see Acts xx. 28, and Philip. iii. 3. ticketed, and stationed in the front rank, as *examples* of his theory of the article, and of passages 'wrongly translated in the common english 'version,' from the ignorance or neglect of it.

In the standard text, as it is called, of the New Testament,

Testament, the first of these passages, viz. Acts xx. 28, is so worded as to be placed beyond the reach of Mr. Sharp's machinations. But, by means of what he holds to be good manuscript authority, but which better critics do not deem quite so highly of, he first *accommodates* the original with a reading, 'whereby it is brought within the construction of 'his first rule,' and then, by means of the rule itself, which he holds to be *infallible* authority, he *accommodates* that reading with the following version: "To feed the church of [the Lord, even of] God." (*Rem.* p. 28). And thus, "chaos is come again!" (See the following letters, pages 63, 70, 71, 134-137 and notes, and the note p. 154.)

But supposing Mr. Sharp's to be the true reading of the original, it is still very problematical whether his version of that reading be the true rendering. The greek text, thus corrected, bears a great affinity to the first of his mistranslated texts, viz. Ephes. v. 5.; and all that is urged, in pages 73–84, of the following letters, against his version of that text, is, with little variation, equally applicable to his version of this.

Mr. Sharp's bugbears, the socinian sadducees, are also for correcting the common reading in the original of this text. They contend that it ought to be; "feed the church of the Lord." And they plead, in favour of the substitution, equal, at least, if not superior, critical authority. Yet, 'their arro-'gant attempts at imaginary correction' (*Rem.* p. 44), are not to be borne, though made, not like Mr. Sharp's, in order to get *into* an absurdity, but in order

der to get *out* of one. But, indeed, that seems to be the *very reason* why they are so intolerable.

Of the other passage, viz. Phil. iii. 3, Mr. Sharp would also first alter the original, by changing, upon the authority of some MSS, the commonly received reading θεῳ into θεϵ, and would then alter the version from, "worship *God in the spirit*," into, "worship *the spirit of God*." But what has either the one, or the other, of these readings, or renderings, to do with Mr. Sharp's articular system? Nothing. How do they exemplify his rules? Not at all. Why then does he *make an example* of this text? Because, in *another* part of it, there are two participles which, as to article and copulative, are circumstanced according to the description given in his first rule. True; but they are *plurals*, and, as such, are proscribed by one of his limitations. Yes; but Mr. Sharp's 'favourite' grammatical, like his favourite theological, 'system' (*Rem.* p. 44.) is, in every *article* and *particle* of it, an incomprehensible mystery; and any thing, however weak and exceptionable, will do to *confirm*, though nothing, however strong and unexceptionable, can confute, a mystery. Well then, overlooking this circumstance of plurality, and admitting these participles to be legitimate *confirmations* of his rule, does he, when thus *accommodated*, extract, even from *this part* of the text, any 'new proof of 'the divinity of Christ?' No. Does he from this part, extract any other mystery? No. Does he correct, or corrupt, the 'common english version' of this part? No. Why then, in the name of Common Sen— No, not of Common Sense; for we are now

so

so far advanced within the pale of "universal hub-"bub wild," that the highest pitch of her harmonious voice would never reach the ear—but in

——"the dreaded name
"Of Demogorgon, Ruin, Rout on rout,
"Confusion worse confounded,"

why does he give this text such a *distinguished* place among his examples? Why, instead of being left among the vulgar herd of catechumens, waiting without in the lobby (*Rem.* p. 4 and 5), to *confirm* the rule when called upon, is it introduced, arrayed in *uncial* robes, into the presence chamber, appropriated to the initiated alone, and where nothing but the sublimest mysteries are discoursed of by the faithful? Because from *another* part of it, with a little *accommodation*, he fancies he can extract a 'new proof' of *another* mystery, viz. the worship of the holy ghost. Nay, that may not be neither, unless we abandon all that we have been taught about the extreme accuracy and precision which is so invariably observed in 'the greek text of the New Testament' relative to 'the use of the definitive article.' For in this text the article is omitted, and consequently if the passage be construed with that strict attention to the articular system which is contended for, it must be rendered indefinitely; "who worship *a* spi-"rit of God." And thus it becomes a better warrant from scripture for the worship of angels, than for that of Mr. Sharp's imaginary being, the holy ghost.

Here one would think Mr. Sharp's discoveries from so plain a text would be exhausted. But the most

most learned of them still remains behind. The version adopted by the generality of translators, viz. "worship God *in* the spirit" is a 'forced construc-'tion which the context itself cannot fairly bear, even 'if θεῷ be admitted to be the true reading,' *because* the preposition εν is not found before πνευμαῖι in the original! (*Rem.* p. 32.) I have said in page 99 of the following letters that the translators of our present version of the Bible knew more of greek than Mr. Sharp. I did not then recollect Mr. Sharp's present remark, or I should have suppressed the observation, from an apprehension that the reader, recollecting it also, might suppose I meant to insult the memory of those translators by the comparison. This expression, which Mr. Sharp finds 'so unusual,' it would be a much easier matter to *confirm*, than for him to shew how εν πνευμαῖι θεου λαλων in 1 Cor. xii. 3, *with* the preposition, differs in meaning from πνευμαῖι λαλει in 1 Cor. xiv. 2. *without:* but I will not waste my own time, or that of the reader, in filling a page with what may be found in every greek grammar and lexicon in the kingdom. I am not writing for school-boys.

SIX MORE LETTERS,

&c. &c.

LETTER I.

" It will be proved to thy face, that thou hast men about thee " that usually talk of a noun and a verb, and such abominable " words as no *Christian* ear can endure to hear."

SHAKSPEARE.

SIR,

A FRIEND of mine the other day, whom I highly respect for his virtues and abilities, desired my opinion, in writing, of your " REMARKS " *on the Uses of the Article in the Greek Testament*," and of SIX LETTERS on the subject of them, which an anonymous correspondent has *father'd* upon you.*

* I do not mean that the mother of this literary bantling has given it your name, or publicly called it yours: but from its being laid at your door, it is plain that you are believed to have had a considerable share in its production, by the wanton hussey (evidently some young thing!) who seems, from her own confession, (p. 3,) to have been too 'eager' and forward to embrace any one that could perform the office of a *father*, to know rightly who, besides herself, was its proper parent; and therefore, either for the purpose of glorying in what ought to be her shame, the extent of her amours with a parcel of old sinners, or else, as I should rather hope, and as my own charity, and a little appearance of privacy in her, incline me to believe, for the purpose of quieting her own conscience, having some grace remaining, she has made out an exact list, *to the best of her knowledge*, of all those *fathers* she has been concerned with, and for your satisfaction, has wrapt it up with the babe in the basket.

I gave my opinion; and then, truly, as one mischief always leads to another, he *would* have me print what I had written. I resisted for a time, urging, that neither your, nor your correspondent's pieces, (you'll excuse me) were originally worth writing about; and that mine, when printed, would not be worth reading: but no, nothing would satisfy him, but that, like yourself and your correspondent, I too must be *pressed to death*. So at last, for the sake of peace and quietness, I consented, upon condition that he, who is possessed of much more polished manners than I can boast of, would revise and correct the manuscript, write a handsome preface, and do every thing else in his power to round and file down all my angles and asperities; for you must know, Sir, that I am apt to be somewhat awkward, rough, and uncouth at times; but good humoured at bottom, as you may guess from what I have already told you, or I should never have submitted to my friend's *sudorific*.*

So, Sir, if my awkwardness should utter any thing in the course of these letters which looks like a rude or uncivil word, and it should escape my friend's vigilance, or be spared by his tenderness, you must remember that I do not mean to offend you. You must attribute it more to nature than to inclination, must recollect the poet's adage, *Naturam expellas*, &c. and must forgive it. To dispose you the more readily so to do, I here previously declare, that though

* "Sub prelo nunc *sudans*," says a literary catalogue, speaking of the fac-simile of your favourite Alexandrian MS. of the New Testament, while it was yet in the press.

I don't

I don't know you, yet from all I hear, I firmly believe you to be as honest and good a man as myself, and am willing to suppose that you may be a much better, already possessed of many virtues which I am only labouring to acquire; and that in this persuasion I greatly reverence your character, and should be sorry to give you pain: though I must say, that you don't know much about the greek article, nor about christianity, or you would never have dreamt of looking for the latter in the former.

When I say *christianity*, I do not mean *practical* christianity, which, in my opinion, formed upon a careful perusal of my bible, though not it seems in your's, is the only real, genuine christianity; containing all that Jesus and his apostles ever put into *their* religion. No, Sir; God forbid I should derogate in the smallest degree from your knowledge of that christianity, which cannot be described in fewer, or better words than those of the apostle, "the cross "of Christ;" and which consists in crucifying all our worldly and selfish appetites and lusts, and in being "dead *indeed* unto sin." This christianity, which, because it was so plain and simple, and had so little to do with learned systems, disputes, and controversies, was foolishness to the Greeks of old, as it still continues to be to many modern Greeks and disputers of this world, and is in danger of being rendered every day more and more foolish by such labours as your's—this christianity you and I, and all of us, understand well enough; because the true religion of Jesus is so plain, that no one ever did, or could misunderstand it; though none of us

cultivate it with such care and strictness as we ought to do; and for that reason alone we live so uncomfortably together, and have so much wretchedness and misery to complain of among us; and must continue so to live and to complain till our christianity be less in our heads, and more in our hearts.

No, Sir; when I say that you do not know much about christianity, I mean *theoretical* christianity;—a thing which you and many others, for want of knowing better, suppose to be, in some shape or other, the christianity of the scriptures, but which, in every shape that it can assume, and it can and does occasionally assume a greater variety of forms than ever Proteus did, has nothing of christianity belonging to it but the name. I mean the motley christianity which men fabricate by sewing scraps and bits of texts together, as they make a history of the Jews out of Homer,* or of the gospel out of Virgil;† a christianity which must be dug out of greek articles and plural hebrew 'nouns and verbs, 'and such abominable' holes, as no christian, who is not so hoodwinked by the nursery, the church, or the state, as to be quite blind to the broad religion of the bible, would ever think of groping in for "the light of the world." (John viii. 12.)

We are told, that apostolical christianity, which is to this, Hyperion to a satyr, was not hidden in a corner, (Acts xxvi. 26.); but this "thing of shreds "and patches" is to be found nowhere in the bible *but* in holes and corners. And when, by "observ-

* Homerus Hebraizans.

† Virgilius Evangelizans.

"ing

"ing times,* and using enchantments and witch-"craft,† and by dealing with familiar spirits and "wizards,"‡ (2 Chron. xxxiii. 6.) some theological Manasseh drags it forth to view, it comes reluctantly by inches, and appears at last in such a questionable shape, that if a christian can but muster up courage to look it steadily in the face, he will soon see what an unsubstantial visionary form it is, and will behold it instantly shrink from his sight; and if he will but continue to pursue it with a fearless eye, and fixed regard, will find it vanish into air, "and "what seemed corporal, melt as breath into the "wind."§ Let him but follow the apostle's advice (1 Cor. xiv. 20.), and not be, what the generality of christians are upon all questions of this sort, *children*, afraid to use their understandings; but let him be upon this, as upon every other matter that concerns

* For the purpose of making out the doctrines of pre-existence, the rites and discipline of particular seasons, &c. &c.

† Conjuring with supplications, adorations, and invocations, &c. and juggling with names and titles, actions and attributes, persons and natures, &c. &c. at which sort of work you and your editor have nibbled a little, you in your notes, (page 5, &c.) and he in his *table*, and *plain* argument, (p. 65, &c.)

‡ The subtle doctors, deep divines, and systematic expositors of ignorant and corrupt ages; many of whose mystical mummeries are still so current and contagious among us, that it is hardly possible for the youthful mind to escape the infection, or to postpone the attack till it has acquired strength to resist a taint, which, when once it gets into the habit, it is very difficult to get out again: so that many a poor child is the miserable victim of it all his life long. I am afraid, Sir, you had the disease badly in your youth.

§ Macbeth.

his religion, though a child in malice, yet a man in understanding, and he will see and know, what I have said you at present seem to know so little of, that all *theoretical* christianity is "man's device" (Acts xvii. 29.), the mere coinage of the brain, the "trumpery" of fathers and councils, of theologues and schoolmen, of "eremites and friars, white, "black and gray."* But to proceed to your *Remarks*.

Before I examine your doctrine about the greek article, I must tell you that it is delivered in a very awkward and confused manner. I notice this, not because I wish to find fault, nor because I am very solicitous, in discussions of this kind, about style, neatness of expression, or methodical arrangement, provided a man be but intelligible; but because you have, by your inaccuracy, so obscured and perplexed the main question, that it is not easy at all times to come at any precise settled meaning. You shift your ground so often, that one scarcely knows where it is that you mean to fix; and you are often so enveloped in mist and fog, as both to lose yourself, and to elude the sight of those who are looking for you.

Thus you sometimes seem to confine your remarks, to what you call nouns of personal description or application, such as θεος, παλης, κυριος, σωτης, &c.

* Milton, Par. Lost, iii. 474, who, if you will look at the whole passage, lines 440–497, will furnish you with a good description, both of the origin and the end of this sort of stuff, which being one of those "works of men which sin has filled "with vanity," is on its way to the "limbo large and broad."

At

At other times you extend them, without giving us any notice, to nouns which are mere names of things, without any reference whatever to persons, such as αμνος, βρωσις, φως, γραφη, &c. as in pages 8, 10, 12, 13, &c.*

Sometimes you say, that nouns affected by the article and conjunction, in the way you describe, 'express' the same or different subjects; and at other times, that they only 'relate to' the same, or different subjects. Now, *to express*, is one thing, and *to relate to*, quite another. In the first example of your sixth rule, for instance, ἡ χαρις και ἡ αληθεια, it is one affirmation to say that what these nouns *express*, is different; and quite another, very distinct affirmation, to say that what they *relate to*, is different. The first assertion is true; but then it is a truth not at all to your purpose, which is, to make your sixth rule a contrast to your first. Now, if you mean so to contrast these two rules, as to say, that nouns circumstanced as you describe in the first, *express* the same, but circumstanced as described in the sixth, express different things, then would St. Paul's words, 1 Cor. xi. 27, τε σωμαλος και αἱμαλος τε κυριε, which are circumstanced as required in the first rule, be sufficient to destroy the assertion in that rule; for certainly the nouns here *express* very different things, though those things *relate to* one and the same person. The other assertion, viz. that the nouns *relate to* the same or different subjects, according as they come under the de-

* All references throughout these letters are made to the *second* edition of your Remarks, 12mo. 1802.

scriptions given in the first, or the sixth rules, when applied to the words ἡ χαρις και ἡ αληθεια, is not true; for these nouns do not *relate to* different subjects, but to the same. If, therefore, you keep to the term *relate*, without shifting your ground, though 1 Cor. xi. 27, would in that case exemplify your first rule, yet the words ἡ χαρις, &c. would then contradict, instead of exemplifying, your sixth rule.

You also produce no small confusion, by making the very same words sometimes proper names, and at other times not proper names. Thus, in page 19, you make *Jesus Christ* a proper name; but, in page 30, you make both *Christ* and *God* to be two substantives of personal description. In page 10, you make *Jesus Christ*, in the example from Ephes. v. 20, to be no proper name, by producing it as an exemplification of your third rule, from which proper names are excluded. And, in page 18, you have an example from Rev. xx. 2, in which you very confusedly call the *Devil* and *Satan* 'two *names* or appellatives,' a loose expression, by which you leave us in doubt whether you mean *proper* names, or *common* names, otherwise called appellatives; and whether you consider this example as having something to do with one of your rules, in defiance of your own limitation, which excludes proper names, or only in defiance of the common opinion of mankind, which, I believe, usually considers *Satan* as a *proper* name.

Your anonymous correspondent too, either by nature or imitation, is a dealer in ambiguities. But he has somewhat more to plead in his excuse. In

forcing such huge sepulchral tomes, as those wherein the canonized earth, or rather mud, of the Basils and the Gregorys, the Jeromes and the Austins, the Cyrils and the Theodorets, has been so long quietly inurned, to ope their ponderous jaws, he must necessarily raise such a cloud of dust, that it was to be expected he should not always clearly see his way before him. We shall, perhaps, as we go along, see something of this necessary consequence of compelling these dead corses to "revisit thus the "glimpses of the moon, making night hideous." At present I shall only observe, rather as a mark of character than as a thing material to our argument, that he begins his book by telling us (p. 6), that 'the purport of his letters is to take your rule for 'granted,' and then labours, through his whole work, to *prove* what he had thus declared he meant to *take for granted.* In the same stile he adds, that he shall take it for granted, as *generally* true, though the rule itself, as you have laid it down, is a *universal* proposition. And he concludes as he began, and in order to illustrate how 'we might trace our steps '*upwards*, in a regular order, till we should touch 'the apostles' (p. 121), sets off from the apostolic age, and traces them *downwards* to the thirteenth century (p. 122—132.)

And now we will talk of our 'nouns,' our articles, and our copulatives, 'and such abominable 'words,' as constitute the ammunition of your critico-theological squibs and crackers, and which you seem to think, as played off by your mechanism, no *Socinian* 'ear can endure to hear.'

Your

Your doctrine, at least that part of it which you affirm (p. 2,) to be 'of much more consequence 'than any of the rest,' when freed from the ambiguity, confusion, and darkness in which you have involved it by means of those very rules which you tell us (page 7.) 'were intended only to illustrate 'its particularity,' may be thus expressed: *If before the first of two or more nouns, or participles, connected together in the same case by the copulative* και, *there be an article, and at the same time no article before the second, or following, then such nouns must* ALWAYS *be referred to the same subject.* Thus, for instance, in the expression, "*The God and Father of our Lord Jesus* "*Christ*" (Ephes. i. 3.), which exactly corresponds with the greek, the two greek nouns which answer to the english nouns *God* and *Father*, you contend *must* be referred to one and the same being; not because the principles of reason and common sense, upon which all language must be explained, require it; not because the context or connection of these words with other parts of the writing in which they occur, which ought always to be attended to, demand it; not because the scope, design, argument, or opinions of the writer call for it, all which seem to be considerations of very inferior importance in your estimation;—but simply for this *mechanical* reason, because of these two words *(God* and *Father)* connected together in the same case by the copulative *(and)*, the first *(God)* has an article *(the)* before it, while the second *(Father)* has none. And in this way you affirm we must *always*, *invariably* understand and construe all nouns in the greek language,

language, which are similarly circumstanced as to article and conjunction.

I take no notice, at present, of your limitations to this rule, because, in what I am now going to add, I shall keep within the bounds of those limitations, and therefore they are of no consequence here, not affecting the arguments I am about to produce. Afterwards, in another letter, I shall consider the limitations themselves, and inquire into your reasons for making them; how far you are authorised by the nature of language, or of things, to make them; and how far you yourself have adhered to them when made.

Now, Sir, that this rule, which your learned editor, Mr. Burgess, calls *yours*, because 'though it was 'acknowledged by others, it was never,' he says, 'so prominently and effectually applied,' and, he might have added, never so inflexibly and heroically maintained, in defiance of all sense and reason, grammatical, natural, and revealed;* that this rule, which your anonymous correspondent too has dignified with the title of 'a valuable discovery,' is no infallible guide to truth, you and your correspondent

* Beza is tolerably bold and sturdy, when he says; "Nobis "quidem non desunt *plurima, apertissimaque* deitatis Christi tes- "timonia, qui nisi verus esset Deus certe nobis adorandus non "esset. Cur igitur quæcunque se nobis offerunt ejusmodi ut sine "manifesta calumnia non possint alio torqueri, *utrisque manibus*, "*imo manibus ac pedibus, imo vivi ac mortui, totis viribus* non potius "retineamus quam vel *tantillum* hæreticis concedamus." But then, as Mr. Burgess observes, this is 'singly' said, upon one text (Tit. ii. 13) only. Your boldness is prominently applied to many texts collectively, by half dozens at a time.

might

might have discovered, if you had looked into so common a book as the "Port Royal Greek Gram-"mar:" and by so doing, the discovery might have been made without putting yourself to the painful expence of quoting greek, of drawing manuscripts letter by letter (page 46), and of inventing a new theory of punctuation (p. 35-50), or your correspondent to that of 'wading through so much,' as he pathetically expresses it (p. 99), and of rummaging an immense mass of "all such reading as is never "read;" the accumulated filth of fourteen centuries, collected into so many enormous folios, that the bare list of them, which he has given us in his appendix, makes our very hearts ache to think of what he must have undergone. You might have made the discovery without travelling beyond the limits of your own native language.

The very first observation which the above-mentioned able grammarian makes in *his* remarks on the use of the article, is, that '*its office is the same in the* '*greek as in almost all the modern languages.*'* The office of the article then being the same in english as in greek, your rule may be tried by the one language as well as the other. And, unless mystery and obscurity were a recommendation which decided your choice, you might have confined your examples within the pale of your own tongue, and, by so doing, not only have enabled every reader to judge

* Bishop Lowth also agrees with the Port Royal grammar, and expressly notices the 'near affinity between the greek arti-'cle and the *english* definite article.' See the passage quoted from his grammar near the beginning of my second letter.

of a question to which, without a knowledge of greek, every reader is competent; but might, perhaps, likewise have seen your own way somewhat more clearly before you. The rule is just as good and valid, when applied to the english as to the greek, and might be made every way as plausible in the one language as the other.

Do but observe, Sir, how fair and goodly your theory may be made to look in english, which, without calling in any foreign aid, would have supplied you and your correspondent, as I will now shew you, each with examples to his own taste, which will set off your 'valuable discovery' to as great advantage as it appears when dressed in a grecian garb, except, perhaps, that the beholder, knowing a little more of the one than he may of the other, has not quite so much left for his *imagination* to work upon.

That in the english language, when the article is used before the first, and omitted before the second of two personal nouns, connected by the copulative, these nouns relate to one and the same person, *you* might shew from the scriptures. As for instance, from 1 Pet. ii. 25, "*the* shepherd *and* bishop of your "souls," it is manifest, that because the two nouns *shepherd* and *bishop* both refer to Jesus, *therefore* [I beg the fact may not be attributed to a wrong cause] the first has an article before it, and the second has none. Again, in the expression which we before quoted from Ephes. i. 3. "*The* God *and* Fa- "ther of our Lord," it is plain that both *God* and *Father* refer to the Almighty, and for that reason

the

the first alone has an article. So likewise, in Ephes. vi. 21, "Tychichus, *a* beloved brother, *and* faithful "minister," the two nouns being meant of Tychichus, the one accordingly has, and the other has not, an article.* And what puts this matter out of doubt, and confirms your rule beyond all question, is, that when the reference is to different persons, the article is always repeated before the second noun; as, for instance, in Ezek. xxii. 7. "They "vexed *the* fatherless and *the* widow:"† and again, in Ephes. vi. 23. "Peace be to the brethren from

* You will not, I presume, object to this example, on account of its being the indefinite, instead of the definite article that is used: but if you should, I can say as you do (p. 36.) of an unfortunate comma, that it has been inserted 'in the english ver-'sion *without any authority*,' for in the original it is the definite, which you know, Sir, is the only article in that language. By the bye, this is a curious assertion of yours about the poor comma. How you should come to know that it was inserted after the word *God*, in 2 Thess. i. 12, *without authority*, I am at a loss to discover. It is certainly found in the first edition (1611 folio,) of our present version; and therefore one would suppose, that the translator meant to insert it, unless you have found some original *manuscript* of our present version which proves the contrary. For you surely never can mean to say, that a translator has *no authority* to insert a comma, or any other point that he thinks proper, into his *own* version, in order to shew his readers more clearly what sense he gives to the original. The question is not whether he gives the true sense, but whether he has any authority to explain his own meaning, which is the only use of any points he may make use of.

† Please to observe, that both these nouns are singular, as appears from both the hebrew and the greek, and also from Exod. xxii. 22, to which this place of Ezekiel refers: so that these nouns are strictly within your limitations.

"God

"God *the* Father, and *the* Lord Jesus Christ." Nay, in one and the same verse, we find this distinction clearly marked, and the rule faithfully adhered to, as in 2 Pet. iii. 2. "*The* holy prophets, and *the* "apostles of *the* Lord *and* Saviour,"* where prophets and apostles are different persons, and *therefore* the article is repeated; but Lord and Saviour being the same person, there it is not repeated.

Thus *you* might amuse us by citing from the scriptures, in confirmation of your rule, these and many more passages which your industry might collect, in number at least equal to those you have produced from the greek testament; while your *aid-de-camp*, who seems to pride himself more in the weight and density, than the simplicity and value, of his materials, might bring to your assistance a solid body of quotation, thick and threefold, from the dross of fathers, councils, and schoolmen.

He might begin with the Nicene creed, as our prayer-book calls it, which, though it be not the Nicene creed, but only spuriously imposed upon us as such, he, I presume, would not object to on that account, because he declares at the opening of his correspondence (p. 11), that he is 'not scrupulous 'to note whether an extract be from a genuine or 'spurious work; the precise date of a treatise, or 'its genuineness being in this argument of very in-

* I omit a few words of no importance to our question between the two nouns *prophets* and *apostles*, as I observe you do the same thing occasionally in your greek examples; and therefore I imagine you will not object to the passage on that account; especially as it is brought, like your own, to *confirm* your rule.

'considerable

'considerable importance.' * From this creed he might produce as a decisive confirmation of your rule, unquestionable evidence, both positive and negative, in the compass of one short sentence; viz. "*the* lord *and* giver of life, who proceedeth from "*the* father and *the* son." What can be more apt and convincing? The article is omitted before *giver*, to mark the same person with *lord*; but carefully inserted before *son*, to point out a different person from the *father*.

He might next quote upon us, in scraps, the whole of what are called the Apostles' and Athanasian creeds, both spurious productions likewise, at his service. To these he might add many a weighty extract from some old version which he might find, or new one which he might make, of such inestimable treasures as the *Commentaries* of the venerable Bede, and the *Sums* and *Sentences* of Thomas Aquinas and Peter Lombard. And here he might gratify his propensity for 'wading,' and for 'transcribing at 'length,' in conformity to a maxim which he delivers in his first (p. 10.), and copiously exemplifies in all his following letters, that 'it is of considerable 'importance, if in addition to that which is on your 'side, he can accumulate evidence that conveys no-'thing *against* an argument like yours,' pointing out

* Does it make no difference then, even in point of *language*, and of the ability to judge of the meaning and sense of a phrase, when a comment was written, and who was the writer? If so, your correspondent might give us your comment, or his own, in greek; and then tell us that the Greeks were the best judges of their own language.

as he went along, *more suo*, how some of his precious fragments, as he chose to understand them, confirmed, while others 'contained nothing *contrary*,' (p. 30) to your rule.

The limitations which you have made to your rule, are just as well suited to the english language as the greek, and when applied to the former, if you, or your readers, will make the experiment of searching for such forms of expression contradictory to the rule in english, as one or other of those limitations do not exclude, you will perhaps find, that examples so circumstanced, and so limited, are not to be had so readily as you, or they, may previously suppose.

And now, Sir, after you had exclaimed: 'As the 'examples which I have annexed to my rule, consist 'of texts wherein the sense is so plain, that there 'can be no controversy concerning the particular 'persons to whom the several nouns are applicable, 'it will be thought, I hope, that I have already 'cited a sufficient number of them to authenticate 'and justify the rule,' (p. 6.) And after your correspondent had 'laid claim to the title of an *honest* '*compiler*, at the expence of being thought unwieldy 'and cumbersome,' (p. 75) 'had confessed himself 'tired,' (as he well might be,) 'of amassing so 'much,' (p. 89) and of 'boasting of the suffrages 'of Bede, or Thomas Aquinas,' (p. 108) had told us of 'his belief, that there was no one exception 'to your rule in the whole New Testament, and that 'the assertion might be extended infinitely further,' (p. 103) had reminded us what 'stress ought to be

'laid on the argument from the hundreds and thou-
'sands of instances which he had observed,' (p. 132)
in favour of your rule, 'without meeting with any
'thing in his own progress,' through the regions of
darkness, 'which appeared to do otherwise than
'confirm it, in its fullest extent,' (ibid.) and had
added that, except your few mistranslated texts,
'which he was willing to exclude as *yet* in debate,
'in *all the other places*, having, under your guidance,
'examined them, he was persuaded that the idiom
'was not "anceps," not "ambiguum," and that the
'english must be a *strange* language, if such a thing
'were possible,' (p. 103): I say, Sir, after this
triumphant song for having thus 'amply illustrated
'the uses of the article and copulative, you might
'proceed with that confidence' you speak of, (p. 18)
to apply your mechanical invention to the Old or New
Testaments, and having extracted from them some
new, or supported some old impossibility already
extracted, you might sit down with your coadjutor
to enjoy in repose a 'valuable discovery,' which
would look quite as specious and plausible, and be,
in reality, quite as solid and substantial, when ap-
plied to the english language as to the greek.

But alas, Sir, there is nothing certain in this
world! and in this protestant country of ours, there
are few things, even in matters that concern reli-
gion, which are suffered to pass *quite undisputed*,
since the days that our forefathers introduced, at
the Reformation, the wicked custom of "searching
"the scriptures." Beautiful and ingenious as all
this would look on your part, solemn and profound

as it would appear on the part of the honest compiler, some son of rebellious reason might start up and rudely attack the whole fabric. And here would be the danger, the only danger, of your erecting it on english ground. The beholder might be tempted to make too free with it, and familiarity, according to the proverb, might breed contempt. Many a man, even of those who are disposed to be dainty and fastidious, will swallow as sound and wholesome, if you ram it down his throat with an imposing air, and cry *græcum est*, that which, if you set before him as plain english fare, to be eaten at leisure, he will no sooner taste than he will spit it out of his mouth, and tell you it is no better than carrion.

Some Goth, regardless of beauty and ingenuity, might take it into his head to ask you, if you had no faint idea of ever having, in print, or in manuscript, such as you could read without any suspicion of its having been tampered with by Socinians, met with expressions like these:—*the* king *and* queen; *the* husband *and* wife; *the* father *and* son; *the* mother *and* daughter; *the* master *and* mistress, &c. &c.? And this question might tempt some daring despiser of *authority*, without having the fear of the fathers before his eyes, and destitute of all proper veneration for the cobwebs of Duck-lane,* to put it to your correspondent, whether, in the many volumes of *sound* divinity, which a man of his immense reading

* "Scotists and Thomists, now, in peace remain,
"Amidst their kindred cobwebs in Duck-lane."
POPE's Essay on Crit. 444.

ing must have 'waded through,' *he* too had never met with such a phrase as: *the* father, son, *and* holy ghost?

Such ugly questions as these, however, though they could not fail, as long as the inquiry was confined to the english language, where you and every one else would be conscious to yourselves, from your knowing more of this than of greek, that there were many such forms of expression, to stagger you, and "turn awry the current of your en-"terprise," would, perhaps, not be sufficient to make its *quietus*. You would probably still endeavour to keep your opponents at bay, by telling them that all these forms were founded in *theory*; but you could never think of giving up your rule until *facts* were produced against it. You would call, perhaps, for *actual example*. "Produce your voucher, critic."

What then would you say, if one of those carnal spirits who are for "proving all things," with his head full of your wonderful discovery, were to stumble upon Deuteronomy x. 18, and there read these words; "*the* judgment of *the* fatherless *and* "widow;" and in obedience to your call, were to lay before you the result of his reading?

Your airy castle would be gone for ever, like the baseless fabric of a vision, leaving not a wreck behind! For such is its nature, that though the hundreds and thousands of props with which your friend, the accumulator of all that is for you, and all that is not against you, fancies he can keep it steady, can only give it some *appearance* of a thing that would stand, *one* puff like this gives it to the winds.

winds. You have told us, what indeed is absolutely necessary for your purpose, that your rule *always* prevails, or, in the words of your correspondent, (page 67) 'have boldly declared, not that' expressions conformable to it '*will* indeed *grammatically* 'bear your construction, but that they *must* and *can* 'bear *no other*.' This single passage, therefore, from Deuteronomy, is fatal to your whole scheme.

Thus may any one who does but rely upon the authority of the Port Royal Grammar for the truth of the observation I have quoted above, fairly and fully estimate the value of your notable discovery, and easily detect the fallacy of your boasted rule, without any knowledge of the greek language.

Your correspondent, the 'honest compiler,' who evidently has taken some pains to prove himself a wholesale dealer in greek, has, with great truth, asserted the exact similarity between that language and our own, in this mode of using the article. He says (page 115), that whether the article be prefixed to each of the two nouns, or only to the first, or to neither of them, every one of these forms in greek is to be explained and applied *just like* our corresponding expressions in english. *He* therefore cannot possibly avoid the conclusion I have drawn from the english examples, which is so obvious to every one who admits the premises, as he does, that I cannot conceive how he could avoid seeing it of his own accord, but by supposing, what appears probable from other instances, that he had so blinded himself with the dust of fathers and schoolmen, that he could not see an inch before his nose.

But you, Sir, a dealer in greek in the small way, seem to think much more highly of your stock in trade than those who are more in the wholesale line —no uncommon case—and to imagine, as the retail trader often does, that your little commodity contains some secret, mysterious, and extraordinary virtues, not to be found elsewhere, or by those who know more of the article dealt in. In greek, at least, whatever may be the case in english, you seem to suppose that a man may bid defiance to the reason, and common sense, and experience of all mankind, and make out any mystery he has a mind for.

Though therefore I might here close my correspondence, and safely leave the decision of the question to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting; yet, in deference to your prejudices, I will pursue it further; and, that you may not think I have any intention of putting a slight upon you or your small wares, quitting our vulgar tongue, will talk with you, in my next letter, a little about greek.

LETTER II.

Omne ignotum pro magnifico est.—TACITUS.

Qui non satis perspectum habuere το της ελλειψεως μυστηριον, vehementer sæpenumero, sive in commentariis, sive in versionibus suis hallucinati sunt, eruentes longe alium a scopo ipsorum auctorum sensum. Contra ea, qui probe versatus fuerit in doctrina ellipsios, facile carebit plurimis grammaticorum regulis, exceptionibus, et observationibus, quarum pleræque falsæ, insulsæ, jejunæ, et inanes sunt.——Bos, ELLIPS. GRÆC.

Limes erat tenuis longa subnubilus umbra.——OVID.

SIR,

IN your opinion the greek language possesses a vast superiority over our own, by means of its article. Had you been better acquainted with that language, you would have known, that the truth lies quite on the other side; and would not have talked, as you have done, 'concerning the more accurate modes of grammatical distinction in the 'greek tongue,' (page 48) and of the superior precision of the greek to the english idiom, in respect to the use of the article, (pages 21, 31, 34, 49, 50). Bishop Lowth, however, who was an able judge of both languages, will inform you of an error which your own knowledge was not sufficient to enable you to discover.

At the end of a long note, No. [3.], containing some remarks upon the *article*, in his English Grammar, he says: "These remarks may serve to shew "....the near affinity there is between the greek ar-"ticle and the english definite article, and the ex-

"cellence of the english language in this respect, "which, by means of its two articles, does most pre- "cisely determine the extent of signification of com- "mon names: whereas the greek has only one ar- "ticle, and it has puzzled all the grammarians to "reduce the use of that to any clear and certain "rules." So that, according to his opinion, there seems to have been no need of your provisional corps, consisting of 'little transpositions,' (page 21), 'italics and hooks,' (p. 31), nor of your supplementary proper names (ibid), and 'possessive pronouns' (see corrected version, No. 5, in your table of contents), and various other ingenious devices, to 'accommodate* and help the english idiom,' (p. 31).

As to what the bishop says about the grammarians being puzzled to reduce the use of the greek article to any certain rules, it was his misfortune that he did not live to witness the publication of your discovery. Whether he would have changed his note, if he had, and whether he would have applied to so great an adept in the mysteries of omitting and inserting the article in the New Testament, to ascertain why it was omitted before γεννητοις, in Matt. xi. 11. and inserted before εκπρωμαλι in 1 Cor. xv. 8.; why omitted before νεκρων in Matt. xvii. 9, and inserted

* "Good phrases surely are, and ever were, very commend- "able. I will maintain the word with my sword, to be a sol- "dier-like word, and a word of exceeding good command. "*Accommodated*, that is, when a man is, as they say, accommo- "dated; or when a man is, being whereby he may be thought "to be accommodated, which is an excellent thing."

SHAKSPEARE.

before

before the same word in chap. xxvii. 64, of the same writer; why in Matt. xx. 3. 6. we have περι την τριτην, and την ενδεκατην ωραν with articles, but in the 5th verse of the same chapter, περι εκτην και ενατην ωραν without; why the article is found before παλης and μνης in Exod. xx. 12. Deut. xxi. 13. Ps. xxvii. 10. Mark v. 40, but not found before the same words in Genes. xx. 12. xlix. 26. Exod. xxi. 15, 16. Mark vii. 10.; why it occurs before the words νηστια and προσευχη in 1 Cor. vii. 5, but not in Matt. xvii. 21.; and lastly, whether any deep and hidden mysteries, or sublime doctrines, lurked beneath the omission and insertion of it before the very same word θεος, in the same verse, Matt. xii. 28. Joh. i. 1. iii. 2. Acts vii. 55. I say, Sir, whether his lordship would have made application to you for the solution of these difficulties, or whether he would have contented himself, even after he had seen your surprising penetration in these matters, with thinking that no great precision was to be expected from the sacred writers in such trifles, and that the truths which they taught mankind, were not of a nature to derive either good or harm from any such petty considerations, must now be left to conjecture.

Whatever he might have done, I am of opinion, and must continue so, till you, or some other oracle, shall answer the foregoing questions, in a way more satisfactory and less ambiguous than usual, that he had good ground for insinuating, as he seems to do, that it is a very puzzling thing to invent a *mechanical* power which shall screw down any writer of greek, however precise and formal, more especially such

such popular, loose, and informal writers as those of the New Testament, so effectually, in the use of the article, as that we need *never* have recourse to common sense and the context for understanding what they mean.

Look back again, Sir, for a few moments to your own language, the definite article of which, as the bishop tells you, bears so near an affinity to the greek article, and look to your english bible, the writers of which were much better acquainted with, and much more studious of, grammatical niceties than any of the apostles or evangelists, not excepting even the disciple of Gamaliel, or the beloved physician, and you will see that even these able linguists are not *always* to be fast bound in misery and grammar.

In the greek text of Rev. xiii. 16. you will find several words with an article before each, which are found again in Rev. xix. 18, without an article before any one of them. Our translators have no article in either place. In Rev. xiv. 7. the common greek text has four nouns, joined by the copulative, of which the two first have, and the two last have not the article. In our version all is reversed, the two first being without, and the two last with articles. The words ζωντες και νεκροι, which occur without any article, in Acts x. 42. Rom. xiv. 9. 2 Tim. iv. 1. and 1 Pet. iv. 5. our translators have rendered without any article in the first place; with an article before the first word only, in the second place; and with articles before both words in the other two places. In Ephes. vi. 21. Tychichus is called,

'*a* beloved brother and faithful minister,' with the article before the first noun only: but in Colossians iv. 7. '*a* beloved brother and *a* faithful minister,' with a repetition of the article. The greek is the same in both places. In Deut. xi. 14. we read, '*the* 'first rain and *the* latter rain,' and so in Jerem. v. 24. Joel ii. 23. with the article before the second noun; but in Hosea vi. 3. James v. 7. the second noun is without the article. In our version of Job iii. 17. 19. we find, '*the* wicked, *the* weary, *the* small and great, 'and *the* servant,' with definite articles: but in the Septuagint, these words are all left indefinite without any article. So little precision is there in these minutiæ, even in those who were far more attentive to such matters than the original writers of the bible were!

Once more, Sir, let us try the experiment where it is most likely to succeed. Let us again appeal to those who, compared with apostles and evangelists, were accuracy itself, to those who were men of superior education, were trained to grammar from their infancy, and wrote in their native language; none of which things can be affirmed of the writers of the New Testament.

Had you been disposed to give us a theory of the english as well as of the greek article, there are few rules, perhaps, which you would have been able to confirm with a greater variety of examples than the following, which bears some resemblance to your fifth rule, viz. that if the first of two nouns, connected by a copulative, be a proper name, having no article before it, and the second be a personal noun, descriptive

descriptive of dignity, affinity, &c. with the definite article before it, then these two nouns relate to different persons. Thus, for instance, when I say, "Granville Sharp and *the* honest compiler," every body instantly concludes that I mean two different persons; because it is the constant, settled usage of almost all writers in our language, whenever they adopt that form of expression, to intend two different persons. And if you are for such discoveries respecting the copulative and article as you can construe into infallible rules, which *always* prevail, you might speculate a long while before you could find any thing better suited to your purpose. And yet even this rule will not *always* hold; but is sometimes violated by men attentive to precision, and writing in their own language: for when, in our english bible, the Ephesians (v. 20,) are exhorted to "give thanks unto *God and the* Father," the form of expression exactly corresponds with that of "Granville Sharp and *the* honest compiler;" and yet, unless common sense is to be wholly set aside (as indeed it might be with as much propriety here as in those passages, the common version of which you would correct by the help of your rule), there can be no doubt that our translators understood these nouns, *God* and *Father*, of one person; as also the like phrase in Colossians i. 3. ii. 2. and with a slight variation in Philip. iv. 20. and 1 Thess. i. 3. iii. 11.

Thus you see, Sir, that those exact and accurate scholars, whom James I. selected from the best and ablest grammarians to be found in Oxford, Cambridge,

bridge, and Westminster, would not stand your tight lacing, but would be forced to remonstrate against such mechanical inventions, and to cry out that you "hurt their feet in the stocks, and that "the iron of your discovery enter'd into their souls." What then are we to expect when you deal thus with those free and unrestrained, those plain and unlettered men, who, though, as we read, they sometimes "girt their fisher's coats about them," (John xxi. 7.) never, that I can find, dreamt of casing themselves in grammatical buckram suits? What indeed! but what we find? viz. that though much learning never made the *most* learned of them mad, nor kept him from speaking forth the words of truth and soberness (Acts xxvi. 24, 25.), yet as soon as you contrive to have them treated like madmen, by clapping your strait waistcoat upon them, they rave like bedlamites, in spite of all that wonted patience with which, upon less trying occasions, they never failed to possess their souls. And who would not rave under such treatment?—But let us return to our greek.

There is no better rule with regard to the article, nor any one that will solve a greater variety of cases, (many more I trow than you are aware of) than that common one well known to every body that knows any thing about the language, viz. that the presence of the article renders the noun to which it is prefixed definite, and its absence leaves it indefinite. And if you had applied this rule to the general form of such expressions as contain your supposed discovery, you would perhaps have seen something

thing more of its nature than you appear to do at present.

In the expression, ὁ θεος και πατηρ τε κυριε ἡμων, (2 Cor. i. 3.) which is the general representative of all the rest, πατηρ, having no article prefixed to it, should, according to the foregoing rule, if literal syntax be adhered to, be rendered indefinitely 'a 'father.' But as neatness, precision, accuracy, and common sense (excuse my introducing this last) all remonstrate against that rendering, and as πατηρ is not a proper name, does not designate a species, and cannot be taken here as an apposition, we are reduced to the necessity of having recourse to figurative syntax, and of understanding an *ellipsis*. Now what can that ellipsis be but an ellipsis of the article ὁ before πατηρ?

That we are right in this way of explaining the sentence, is confirmed by the Port Royal Grammar, where we read (p. 387, edit. 1759,) that 'sometimes 'one article serves for two substantives;' as when Aristotle says, περι τον ἡλιον και ασρα, 'instead of' (mark these words, Sir, *instead of*) και τα ασρα.

Dr. Clarke too, who I verily believe knew almost as much of greek, and had read almost as much of the fathers, as your friend the compiler, though he was not fond of quoting at all times every thing that he could rake together that did not make against him, as well as every thing that made for him, tells us, that "in nouns characteristical and equivalent "(as it were) to proper names, the article is very "frequently left out. Thus θεος is often used to sig- "nify the same as ὁ θεος, κυριος as ὁ κυριος, and σωτηρ "as

"as ὁ σωτηρ." And this observation, confirmed by producing some examples of the ellipsis, he applies to the explanation of Tit. ii. 13. which you know, Sir, is one of your mis-translated texts, in which he says, that τε μεγαλε θεε και σωτηρος, the very form we are speaking of, is the same as τε μεγαλε θεε και τε σωτηρος. See Clarke's Reply to Nelson, p. 87, 88.

Grotius too, in his comment upon the same text, says: "Qui putant τε σωτηρος dici debuisse, si hæc "distinxisset apostolus, norint in his libris τα αρθρα "*(articulos)* sæpe poni ubi opus non est, et sæpe "omitti ubi ex usu ponerentur." He seems to consider the ellipsis, under these circumstances, as more peculiar to the sacred, than to other writers.

That our translators understood this form of expression as nothing more than an *ellipsis*, appears evidently from their occasional insertion of the article before the second noun, in their version, when it is omitted in the original. Thus in 2 Cor. i. 3. ὁ πατηρ των οικτιρμων και θεος πασης παρακλησεως is rendered, "*the* father of mercies, and *the* God of all "comfort." And in Coloss. ii. 2. James i. 27. and other places, where θεος and πατηρ are coupled together according to your rule, the definite article is inserted before the latter word in our version, though there is no article before it in the original. See also the translation of Luke xiv. 21.

Thus it appears, that in the general form ὁ θεος και πατηρ τε κυριε ἡμων, the omission of the article before the second noun, πατηρ, is nothing more than a common ellipsis. It is an omission exactly of the same kind as that which we, at other times, meet with,

of

of a preposition, or other particle, before the second noun; as for instance of the preposition εξ in Matt. xxiii. 25. γεμουσιν εξ αρπαγης και ακρασιας, or of the preposition συν, in Acts iv. 27. συν εθνεσι και λαοις, of επι in Matt. v. 45. of απο in Luke xiii. 29. of καλα in Acts xxi. 28. of ενωπιον in Acts ix. 15. and many others that I could mention, were I disposed to give to my visit but half the rich exuberance which your other correspondent has bestowed on his visitation of you. But as I am not ambitious of shewing my great reading, I would willingly save you the trouble of perusing much that is for me, and all of that which is barely not against me.

Thus you might have applied your rule to the omission and insertion of any of these prepositions or particles, with just as much truth and reason as to the omission and insertion of the article, and might have contended, that the two nouns θεος and κυριος, for instance, in 1 Tim. v. 21. must both be referred to one and the same person, Jesus, *because* ενωπιον, which is found before the former noun, is omitted before the latter: but that κυριος and χριστος, in Acts iv. 26. must be referred to different persons, merely *because* καλα is inserted before the latter noun as well as the former.

There are, indeed, two other ways in which it is *possible* to construe the words in the general form ὁ θεος και παλιν τε κυριε ἡμων, without supposing an ellipsis of the article before παλιν. The one is by considering the article prefixed to θεος, not as being attached exclusively to that, or any other single word, but as detached, and as belonging to the whole

whole phrase made up of the three words θεος και πατηρ, taken together, consolidated as it were, and considered as one word. The other is, by making και not a copulative, but an *exegetical* particle, in which way Noldius, (Concord. particular. hebr. p. 309. edit. 1734,) speaking of this very phrase, and the several passages in which it is found, observes: aliqui και hic sumunt *relative* seu *explanative*; nempe και πατηρ, *qui* vel *id est* pater, &c. But, here, not to remark that, in the first of these ways of construing the words, there being no article proper to the first noun, the phrase should come under your fifth rule, and the nouns (unless you here make an exception on account of context, an exception which indeed entirely destroys that rule, and makes it good for nothing), accordingly be referred to different persons, and that in the second way, και being no copulative, the phrase, strictly speaking, would not come under any of your rules as you have worded them;—we may observe, that in the one way the article, and in the other the conjunction, are construed in a manner which all will allow is not the common, ordinary, and usual manner of construing them: and, therefore, neither of these ways will answer your purpose. For on this ground you can never maintain that we *must always* explain the words as you do; it being evident, on the contrary, that we ought never so to explain them, unless the context will not allow us to explain them at all, or at least not so well, in the ordinary, usual way. There is nothing left for you, therefore, but an ellipsis.

Now, though this is a figure to which those who consult ease, perspicuity, and neatness of expression, when writing in a language natural and familiar to them, and of which they are thorough masters, will not often have recourse, where the ellipsis would be forced, harsh, and unnatural, and where the words omitted did not readily suggest themselves to the reader, yet this cannot *always* be expected to be the case with men so disqualified by their rank and education for elegant writing, as the authors of the New Testament; men too so little solicitous about such trifles as style and diction, and whose minds were so wholly engrossed by matters of much greater consequence, especially when it is considered, that to these men the greek was a foreign language. But, not to insist upon any of these considerations, I see no harsh or forced ellipsis, when the two nouns relate to different persons, in omitting the article before the second. I might perhaps allow, that when the nouns both relate to the same person, there being a somewhat more intimate bond of union between them, the idea of their being affected in the same way by the same article, might more readily suggest itself to the mind of the reader, and that therefore the ellipsis might be more natural, and on that account be oftener met with in exact writers, under such circumstances, than when the nouns relate to different persons. But I am very far indeed from allowing that, when the nouns relate to different persons, the ellipsis must necessarily be so harsh and violent, that it *never* can occur, even if the assertion were to be confined to the best and most accurate

writers,

writers, and still further from allowing it, if it be extended to such as are loose and popular.

The form of expression, therefore, in which the article is omitted before the second noun, differing in that circumstance alone, from the other form in which the article is repeated, so that the one is a mere ellipsis of what is contained at full length in the other, whatever is *expressed* in the latter form, may, or rather must be understood, *cæteris paribus*, in the former. But you yourself assert, in the exception to your sixth rule (page 14), that the form in which the article is expressed before the second noun must be interpreted by the context; and your correspondent, aware of what the assertion amounts to, honestly gives up that sixth rule altogether, and declares (p. 115), that this form is ambiguous, and 'may be used indifferently of one or two persons.' The other form, therefore, which is the mine that contains your boasted treasure, and in which the article, though not expressed, is *understood* before the second noun, must be ambiguous also, and may likewise be used indifferently of one or two persons.

And now, Sir, having shewn you the unsoundness of your theory by reasoning, I proceed to shew you the same thing by fact, and to lay before you some examples incompatible with, and destructive of, that theory; examples in which, though no article is *expressed* before the second noun, the reader will be so far from finding himself obliged to refer them both to the same subject, as you contend, that he cannot possibly do so until he pay as little regard to common sense as you do in the interpretation of

your mistranslated texts: and then he may do just what he pleases with these or any other passages of holy writ.

In Rev. ix. 15. we find την ὡραν και ἡμεραν και μηνα και ενιαυτον: In Luke xiv. 21. τυς πτωχυς και αναπηρυς και χωλυς και τυφλυς: and in Acts xv. 23. την Αντιοχειαν και Συριαν και Κιλικιαν. Now, who but he, who has such a passion for impossibilities,* that he will find them in a greek article, rather than go without them, will affirm, that "an hour, and a day, and a "month, and a year;" or that "the poor, and the "maimed, and the halt, and the blind;" or that "Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia," are descriptive of one and the same subject? Then again in Luke we read—

"Oh, but stop, stop," (methinks I hear you exclaim) "these examples, though the nouns, as to ar-"ticle and conjunction, are circumstanced as I re-"quire, and though they do unquestionably refer to "different subjects, (for I would have you to know, "Mr. Blunt, that I am for explaining scripture upon "the principle of common sense, *except* where an ar-"ticle of faith, or a mystery, is concerned) yet they "do not affect my theory in the least. These are "examples which I cannot allow you to make use "of, in arguing against me. In your first instance, "the nouns are not *personal* nouns. In your second,

* "Methinks there be not impossibilities enough in religion for "an active faith. I can answer all the objections of Satan, and "my rebellious reason, with that odd resolution I learned of "Tertullian, *Certum est quia impossibile est.*"

SIR THOMAS BROWN's Religio Medici.

"they

"they are *plural*: and in your third, they are *proper* "*names*. All these I have expressly excepted from "the operation of my golden rule. By bringing "such examples, you transgress the bounds of my "limitations, and attack me with unlawful weapons, "using such as I have proscribed and prohibited."

Yes, Sir, I do so. I chose them purposely for that very reason, because you had proscribed them; in order that they might lead us to discuss those same *limitations* a little; a subject which I promised you, in my former letter, I would inquire into.

Now, Sir, as you have not told us what there is either in the nature of language in general, or of the greek in particular, or what there is in the nature of things, that should make such nouns as are not personal, or such as are plural, or proper names to be differently affected by the article and conjunction from all other nouns, I cannot see what reason, or authority, you have for making these fanciful limitations, or for exempting such nouns, any more than others, from the operation of your rules.

The name of a brute, a tree, or a stone, of a house, a ship, or a garment, or of any other substance, natural or artificial, things not *personal*, contains nothing in its own nature, as far as I can see, which should make it, *of itself*, either in the greek, or any other language, more or less expressive of identity, or diversity, of any sort, than the name of any of those moral relations of dignity, office, affinity, &c. which you comprehend under the term personal nouns. And the same thing may be affirmed of the names of modes, whether simple or mixed, such as

an hour, a day, a month, &c. or such as grace, mercy, truth, &c. things also not personal. So that unless there be really more in the nature of personality than I am aware of, more than, with all my efforts, I can find out—and if there be, it will be kind in you, or any one else that has made the discovery, to tell me what it is—there must be just as much need of something external and foreign to the nouns themselves, that is, in this case, as much need of the omission or insertion of the article, to mark an identity or diversity in nouns of the one sort, as in those of the other. Till, therefore, you can purge my visual organs with a little of your euphrasy, and make them much more *sharp* sighted than they are at present, I conclude, that the omission or insertion of the article before the second noun, marks an identity or diversity of reference in the two, neither more nor less, necessarily and infallibly, when they are personal, than when they are impersonal.

As to *plurality*, what power is there in that to deliver nouns from the gripe of your forcing irons, as often as they come within reach of the machine? Is it in grammar, as it is in politics—*divide et impera?* Are nouns, like men, compelled, when taken singly, to wear a yoke, which, by combining, they are able to shake off at pleasure? If when the singular number of τυφλος, with the article, be joined to the singular number of χωφος, without the article, they *must*, both of them, from the mere circumstance of being so situated, independently of any consideration of context, common sense, &c. be *of necessity* referred to the same individual, so that one man

shall

shall be both blind and dumb; what is to prevent the plural numbers τυφλοι and κωφοι, in the very same situation from being as *necessarily* both of them referred to the same individuals, so that every one of these shall likewise be both blind and dumb.

The texture of your articular straps must indeed be truly singular, in every sense of that word, if they necessarily and inevitably bind whatever load you please upon any number of individuals, making every one of them, as often as you can catch him by himself, apart from his fellows, willy-nilly to submit, and, it may be, to become at once poor, and maimed, and halt, and blind, and, in short, afflicted with every evil that human life is heir to; and that, let the strength of his constitution, his habits, and his connections, be what they may, let him be ever so well fitted and disposed in himself, and ever so loudly urged to resistance by all around him, yea, though he be as strong as Samson and have the Philistines upon him to boot;—I say, Sir, if your straps spontaneously and irresistibly do all this, and yet can not exert the smallest force, nor impose the least necessity of submission upon the meanest and weakest of mortals, without power and without motive for resistance, provided one equally mean and weak, and every way like himself, do but hold him by the hand, they must indeed be made of most uncommon stuff.

No book of magic that has ever fallen in my way can furnish a spell like your's, of such strange and singular potency, as to bewitch a single king and cobler, so confounding all sense of personal identity

and diversity in their minds, that the one shall not know himself from the other; and yet of no more power to work upon two kings arm in arm with each other, or upon two coblers, in the same situation, than if they were intrenched behind a threshhold, with a horse-shoe nailed in the front.

In *proper names*, perhaps, you may discover something which, at first sight, seems to afford ground for a partial distinction between them and other nouns. As they each mark a certain exclusive, appropriate, peculiarity in their very nature, and point out a diversity between themselves and other nouns, you might contend that this diversity is so great as to counteract and over-rule any identity arising from the omission of the article before the second noun, or as not to stand in need of any additional diversity arising from the insertion of the article.* But even

* Bishop Pearson has discovered more of mystery in the omission of the article before the second noun, than you have done. You find that the omission denotes identity. He finds that it denotes both identity and diversity: as, for instance, when Jesus says, "I ascend unto my Father and your Father." John xx. 17. there being an article before the first *Father* only, (see the greek) it shews not only that the same being is the father of both, but also that he is father of Jesus in a *different manner*, from the way in which he is our father. See Pearson on the Creed, p. 30. fol. edit. How keen the discernment of some men is! and what endless and beautiful variety there is in the modes of discovering the hidden treasures of our mysterious religion! Postellus could prove the trinity from 11,000 texts in the Old Testament alone. On the other hand, I have somewhere read of a commentator who confined himself to one text only to prove the same doctrine, both for the Old and the New, viz. Deut. vi. 4. and Mark xii. 29. "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord!" or as it ought to

even this is no ground for a general limitation, or for making a difference between proper names, and *all* nouns descriptive of office, dignity, &c.: for of these latter, there are many which express diversity as strongly and as necessarily as any proper names whatever can possibly do. Thus, for instance, *king and queen*, *husband and wife*, &c. with all those which I mentioned in my former letter, and many more that might be mentioned, are as different as *Sharp* and *Blunt*. If, then, proper names are beyond the reach of your rule, because they, by their nature indicate diversity, so likewise must all such personal nouns as these, be, which, by their nature are equally indicative of diversity. Before, therefore, you can proscribe such examples as consist of proper names from being brought against your rule, you must reduce that rule to narrower limits, and confine its operation, not merely to personal nouns, but to personal nouns of one sort only. And then, in the next place, before you can apply your rule to the proposed correction of our common version in those texts you have selected, you must shew that χριστος, κυριος, and σωτηρ, as applied to Jesus, differ less widely from ὁ θεος and ὁ μεγας θεος, than one proper name does from another.* And when you have done this, it

to be rendered: "The Lord is our God, the Lord alone." *We* have no need to say, who shall go up to heaven, or beyond the sea for us, to bring us the *secret* things of our religion, for us and for our children, that we may *believe* all the words of this law! Deut. xxx. 11–14. xxix. 29.

* Dr. Clarke calls these, "nouns characteristical and equivalent (as it were) to proper names." See the passage quoted from his Reply to Nelson, in page 30.

will

will then be a proper subject of inquiry, whether such a circumstance affords sufficient ground for maintaining that personal nouns, *even of this sort*, are differently affected by the article and conjunction from proper names.

Should you say that your limitations are founded on the observation of fact, and not deduced from reasoning; and that you have discovered by *experience* that they actually do exist and prevail in the greek language, though you are unable to explain why they should do so; I would ask, what is your experience, wherein does it consist, and what does it amount to? Is it because you have found some half-dozen of examples,* in which nouns that are personal, singular, and not proper names, accord with your rule, and as many more in which nouns that are impersonal, plural, and proper names, contradict that rule, that therefore you think yourself justified in making this arbitrary distinction, and laying it down as a fact, that nouns of the one sort are *necessarily* affected by the article and conjunction in the way you mention, and those of the other sort, not?

As well might you take a list of the lottery for half a dozen years, and picking out this or that thousand in which some numbers might happen to be drawn on a Wednesday or a Friday in those years, affirm, that those thousands were subject to a law from which others, that you did not find on those days, were exempt. The experience which

* The examples by which you confirm your first rule, the one here discussed, are just half a dozen, if we deduct those which consist of a repetition of the same words.

you have had of your rule falls far short of that in the well known instance of the king of Siam, who, because he had never seen or heard that water would become solid by freezing, denied the possibility of it; and still more short of that assumed by Mr. Hume as a ground for denying the possibility of miracles. And yet you and I, Sir, are well assured that the experience of both these sceptics was good for nothing. So that *experience*, such as your's, confirmed by so *few* instances, seems to be a weaker foundation, than that of reason, to build your limitations on.

Indeed what you have said about these limitations does not appear to have any great force or validity even in your own estimation. A man's practice is often a better ground for judging of the strength of his convictions than his theory. Now you, in your practice, have neglected all these limitations, and have brought examples to confirm your rules, which violate every one of them.

Thus many of the examples in your second, third, and fifth rules, and the majority of those in the sixth, consist of nouns which are *not personal.* In your sixth rule, we have an example from John xi. 44. consisting of two *plural* nouns. And again, in the third example, in page 31, we have two *plural* nouns taken from Philip. iii. 3. which you mark as a *capital* confirmation of your first rule. And when you lay down the limitations about plurality, you take care to inform us (p. 6), that 'there are not 'wanting examples, even of plural nouns, which are 'expressed exactly agreeable to your first rule;' an observation made for no other purpose that I can

discover, but that of insinuating, that there is nothing in plurality so *incompatible* with your rule as to prevent even plural nouns from being some confirmation of its truth. In your third rule (page 10), we have an example from Ephes. v. 20, in which *Jesus Christ* makes one of your nouns, though you have told us (p. 19), that you consider it as a *proper name*, and have distinguished it from a descriptive noun. In page 18, you consider an example in which we find one, if not two, proper names, viz. *Devil* and *Satan* (Rev. xx. 2.), as one that *would* belong to your fifth rule, if the *context* did not make it an exception. And in the first of your mistranslated texts, viz. in Ephes. v. 5. you make both the nouns, *Christ* and *God*, by the way in which you render them in your table of contents, to be proper names; and in all the renderings which you give us of the same text in page 31, whether you translate by *book* or by *crook*, the latter noun *God* is made a proper name, and in the last rendering, both nouns.

Thus you have destroyed by your practice those limitations which, though you have formally laid down, you never have confirmed, and, I will venture to say, never can confirm, by your theory. Looking upon myself, therefore, as quite at liberty, in arguing against your rule, to disregard limitations which I have shewn to be destitute of all foundation, and which you yourself have disregarded in your attempts to establish your rule, I shall now go on to give you the remainder of those examples which I was about to produce when our attention was called off to discuss the business of the limitations. But this I shall reserve for another letter.

LETTER III.

'Tis certain that arguments run very low indeed, when all grammar is forced to be reversed in such a manner, as would make every language a mere Babel of words. By *grammar*, I mean, not only the *artificial rules* of *grammarians*, but the common and natural sense of mankind.

CLARKE'S *Reply to* NELSON, p. 41.

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.—VIRG.

Like a man, that without a *foundation* built a house upon the earth.—Luke vi. 49.

SIR,

SETTING aside those limitations which I have proved to be futile and groundless, I now proceed to lay before you some further examples of your rule, from which you will see more of the many admirable consequences of your discovery, than perhaps you were fully aware of.

By the application of your rule to the greek text of the following passages, you may shew that there is no difference, not only between *a street* and *a lane* (Luke xiv. 21.), but between *a high-way* and *a hedge* (ibid. verse 23.); not only between *love* and *peace* (2 Cor. xiii. 11.), but between *consolation* and *salvation* (2 Cor. i. 6.). You may prove not only that *high-priests* and *scribes*, (Matt. ii. 4.), that *scribes* and *pharisees*, (Matt. v. 20.), that *scribes* and *elders*, (ib. xxvii. 41.), and that *publicans* and *sinners*, (ib. ix. 11.) were the same persons; but moreover, that *pharisees* and *sadducees*, (Matt. iii. 7. xvi. 1, 6, 11, 12.), *apostles* and

and *prophets*, (Ephes. ii. 20.), *buyers* and *sellers*, (Matt. xxi. 12.) were the same; that *Mary Magdalene* was the same as *Mary the mother of Joses*, (Mark xv. 47.); and that there was no difference between *Joses* himself and his brother *James*, (Matt. xxvii. 56.), between *Peter* and *John*, (Acts viii. 14.)

From Luke ix. 28, you may, by virtue of your *excellent* rule, extract a new, secondary, apostolical *trinity*, by way of supplement to that commonly received; and that too, all from one text, without being forced, as is the case in manufacturing the old trinity, to dig a little bit of mystery out of a text in one corner of the bible, next to splice that to a bit more out of another corner, afterwards to eke out that with a bit from a third, thus hopping about from text to text; and after all the toil and labour bestowed on it, after all the twisting and turning, and vamping, and soleing and heel-piecing, to rest satisfied with producing what to a common eye, not tutored and trained from infancy to look askew at it, appears just as broad as it is long, though when it is *squinted* at, through a theological magnifying glass, such as you make use of to turn points of separation into 'lines of connection,' (p. 48.) many persons are apt to fancy that it looks '*nearly* 'three times as long as it is broad.' *

From Luke viii. 1, 2, you might shew, by your rule, that the *twelve* apostles were all *women*; as you

* "Early and interested prepossession, or prejudice, is a *mag-* "*nifying-glass* that makes mountains of molehills, or the greatest "matters of mere nothings."

Unitarian Tracts, 4to. 1695. vol. iii. tract 1. p. 23.

might

might make it appear, from the same evangelist, (xxiii. 27.), were likewise the great company of people that followed Jesus to his crucifixion, and moreover, (from verse 49 of the same chapter), that all his acquaintance were persons of the same sex who followed him from Galilee.

From Acts xv, you might shew that *Paul* and *Barnabas*, who were very different persons at the beginning of the chapter (verse 2,) and who, though without any express *articles* of separation subsisting between them, (and therefore, by virtue of your fifth rule and its exception, were beginning to grow rather ambiguous,) still continued distinct for some time after (verse 12.), got so confounded in the course of a few verses more, (verse 22.), that it was impossible to distinguish the one from the other, till the successful application of your wonderful discovery restored each of them again, (verses 25. 35.), to his separate personal identity and diversity.

Many more discoveries, equally notable, might you make from Luke xi. 27. Acts iv. 5, 6, xv. 2. xxiv. 1. Rom. ii. 5. 1 Cor. iv. 9. 2 Thes. i. 4. &c. &c. but I shall content myself with mentioning only one, to be found in 1 Tim. vi. 13. where θεος and χριστος being connected in the way your rule requires, the former with, and the latter without the article, must *necessarily* be descriptive of one and the same person; but since each of these nouns is attended by a participle, and since the article which is prefixed to the first participle is repeated before the second, the two nouns must on that account be descriptive of different persons: and thus we have both the identity

and diversity of God and Christ established in the compass of a single verse, proving clearly, as I have somewhere seen, or heard it expressed, that they are "united, though divided; divided, though the "same."

It makes no difference, I apprehend, in this reasoning, that 'the substantive of personal descrip-'tion, as you call χριστος (p. 30), is followed by the proper name *Jesus*; since χριστος here does not make any part of the proper name, but is merely an epithet, like the similar personal noun κυριος, in a similar situation. But what if it were unavoidably a proper name? We have seen that no reasoning nor practice of your's, will justify us in depriving it of the benefit of your rule on that account. Or, lastly, what if Paul had thought fit to have omitted the word *Jesus* altogether, which he might have done if he had chosen it, for any thing that I can see to the contrary?

Such are the curious consequences to which your theory of the article fairly and directly leads; consequences from which no arbitrary, groundless, and unsupported limitations can extricate you, as you must see, unless some theological *ignis fatuus* has completely dazzled your sight.

Now, Sir, with so many and such great absurdities pleading loudly against your fancied rule, and with what I think, and what every one who will but use the reason which God has given him for the purpose of being used upon this, in the same way as upon every other subject, *must* think, an absurdity infinitely greater, I mean the *monstrous* consequence

you

you deduce from your mistranslated texts, an absolute *impossibility!* pleading "trumpet-tongued" against your rule; let me ask, what you have to plead in its favour? Theological prejudices excepted, nothing, that I can devise, but this single consideration: viz. that after your imaginary limitations, made without any foundation either in nature or language, had excluded the use of all such examples as the friend whom you mention in page 2, had brought as objections to your rule, neither you nor he were able to find any example of a kind which your limitations would *not* exclude, to contradict the rule.

But what was the proper inference from this? That no such example exists, or *can* be found? No, Sir: before I take my leave of you, I will produce you *two* such examples, though *one* is sufficient to ruin your whole articular system.

But I shall first beg leave to shew you that, even supposing your limitations were well founded, a little reasoning, independently of those consequences which, as I have pointed out in my first letter, you might have drawn from the analogy between the greek and english languages in respect of the article, would have discovered to you how bold and hazardous a conclusion it was to infer, that a rule, so circumscribed and limited, *must* necessarily *always* prevail, because you could not find one example to the contrary.

To say that the rule *always* prevails, is to maintain, that the whole compass of the language cannot furnish one instance to the contrary;—a universal

negative; a thing which, as has been often remarked, can never be proved, and which it requires not merely half a dozen examples taken, like your's, from a single volume, nor half a dozen ambiguous texts expounded, like those in your correspondent's extracts, with most obsequious unanimity in the same way, half a hundred times over, by "those "*parasites* of former times, whom now, in regard "of their antiquity, we call the *fathers*;"* but a great multitude of examples of all sorts, taken promiscuously from authors of every description, and free from all bias towards a particular interpretation, to render even probable. If neither you nor your friend, with all your researches, could find one such example against your rule as your limitations did not exclude, the proper inference was that it was *difficult* to find them, not that it was *impossible*. And this difficulty a little previous consideration might have taught you to expect, before you began the research.

Examples, even when not confined within any

* "Trinitarianism is not so much a *religion*, as the *law* of the "Byzantine emperors. It was first introduced by military force, "then confirmed by edicts of the arbitrary emperors of Constan-"tinople. Well, but when folly and impiety are once established "by law, and are the only way to preferment, there will never "want a great number who will court the favour of the govern-"ment, by endeavouring to represent the current doctrine of the "times, as possible, nay, as reasonable and agreeable to scrip-"ture: and from hence came the explications of the trinity, by "the *parasites* of those times; whom now, in regard of their an-"tiquity, we call the *fathers*."

Unitarian Tracts, 4to. 1695. Tract 7. p. 63.

very

very particular limits, are things which will not always come when they are called for; and they grow more and more deaf to the call in proportion as the number of those conditions, circumstances, and limitations are multiplied, under which they are required to make their appearance. Now the conditions attached to the examples which you sought for are many; and consequently the examples themselves must be few.

In the first place, the number of nouns of any sort, circumstanced as you must have them with regard to article and conjunction, is not very great, including both such as relate to the same, and such as relate to different persons. If you strike out from these all such nouns as are not personal, you greatly reduce the number. If you next discard from the remainder all proper names, you reduce it still further. And lastly, if you exclude from what is left all plurals, is it to be expected that many will remain? But this is not all. There are other secret limitations lurking in your theory, which you have not brought formally forwards; as, for instance, one of the nouns must not be θεος, while the other is χριστος, κυριος, σωτηρ, or any term descriptive of Jesus; for in that case, no consideration of common sense, or context, will restrain you from saying, that they both relate to the same person, and that they confirm, instead of opposing your rule. And with regard to all other nouns of official description, rarely as they can now, after the above reductions, occur, they must be such as cannot *possibly* be made to relate, by any accommodation, to the same person, or

you will be sure, either by hook or by crook, to twist them that way.

It is likewise to be considered, that the form of expression, in which the article is omitted before the second noun, is elliptical, as I have shewn you. Now figurative syntax, of which the ellipsis is one species, does not occur so frequently as the ordinary common syntax. Then, as the greek is a language in which every noun has an appropriate gender, if the two nouns happen to be of different genders, they will require different articles, and in that case the ellipsis will not be quite so readily supplied by the reader, as the supplementary article must be different from that which has been before mentioned, and consequently an exact writer will not so often have recourse to ellipsis in such a language. Again, if, in the form of expression we are considering, it were a matter of perfect indifference, and no opponent of your rule will require or contend for any thing more, whether, when the two nouns relate to different persons, the article were or were not repeated; in that case, one half of the examples might be expected to turn out in favour of the rule. But your opponents have no need to require so much. They may allow that it is a more full, regular, formal, and precise mode of expression, to repeat the article before the second noun, where the two refer to different persons; that is, they may allow that your rule *generally* prevails, without allowing, as you contend, and must contend, in order to apply it in the way you wish, that it *always* prevails. And if it gene-

rally

rally prevails, then a majority of the examples must be expected to prove favourable to your rule.

Examples, therefore, such as you sought to contradict your rule, so singularly circumstanced, must indeed be rari nantes in gurgite vasto. It is not surprising, then, that you should be unable to find them. But it was not a just conclusion, that because you could not discover one, therefore the rule was confirmed; for the want of examples, as we have seen, was to be accounted for upon other principles.

Had you applied your rule to the omission of a preposition, or other particle, before the second noun, instead of applying it to the omission of the article, which I have shewn you in my second letter you might have done with as much truth and reason on your side as at present; had you, for instance, maintained, that when the preposition κατὰ is found before the first noun, and is not repeated before the second, the two always relate to the same person; and had you then fortified the assertion with your several limitations, you might perhaps have found it equally difficult to discover any example to contradict the assertion. Or had you given us the same theory of the english, as you have of the greek article, which, from the analogy between the two, you might have done, as appears from my first letter, you might in that case have sought a long while without finding such an example to contradict it as I have produced above, (see p. 20,) from Deut. x. 18.

But, though you could not find examples to shew

you the fallacy of your rule, a little reasoning and reflection might have detected it, either in english or in greek. In my first letter I have coined several examples, such as "*the* king and queen," &c. (p. 19.) which, though the work of invention, you must know and feel, from the knowledge you cannot but have of your native language, to be such as *may* be used, though you might be at a loss to find immediately any instance of their use, and though they may not be quite such full, regular, and accurate expressions, as they would have been if the article had been repeated. From a similar mode of proceeding you might have derived a similar conclusion with regard to the greek, and have confuted your rule without the aid of examples.

In the english version of Isaiah iii. 2, 3. are several personal nouns, which, as they stand at present, with a repetition of the article, you might take for a confirmation of your sixth rule: but, if the translator had chosen to have omitted the article before the second nouns, here would have been a confutation of your first rule. And what is there in our language to render such omission, not merely uncouth, but absolutely inadmissible?

In like manner, in the septuagint version of Esther vii. 6. απο τυ βασιλεως και της βασιλισσης, if the translator had chosen to have omitted the article (της) as he has done the preposition (απο) before the second noun, what is there in the greek language to render such omission, I do not say inelegant, for that is not the question, but so harsh and ungrammatical as to be quite intolerable?

Would

Would Mark have violated all the rules of the greek language, if he had omitted the article before the second noun in παραλαμβανει τον παΐερα τε παιδιε και την μήτερα. v. 40? or John, if he had omitted both preposition and article before the second noun, in κοινωνια ή ήμετερα μετα τε παΐρος και μετα τε υιε αυτε Ιησε Χριςε, 1 John i. 3? Would Paul have broken the head both of Priscian and Athanasius at one blow; would he have transgressed grammar and "confounded the persons," if he had inserted the article before the first noun θεος, in his ordinary salutation, χαρις ύμιν . . . . . απο θεε παΐρος ήμων, και κυριε Ιησε Χριςε. Rom. i. 7. and elsewhere?

Suppose Luke (ii. 52.) had told us that Jesus increased in favour παρα τω θεω και ανθρωπω, would he have become in your ears as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal; or would he have spoken with the tongue of men and of angels? Would you have said, he that speaketh is a barbarian unto me, and hath spoken five unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter; or would you have extolled him as the sublimest of teachers, who spake not unto men but unto God, saying, no man understandeth him howbeit in the spirit he speaketh mysteries? We know that the article is often prefixed to the name of God, and that ανθρωπος is used in the singular number to denote the species. See an instance of both in one verse of this same evangelist, Luke xviii. 4. See also Luke i. 6. and Septuagint of Psal. lvi. 11. civ. 23.

When Mary of Magdala returned from the sepulchre on the morning of the resurrection, the

evangelist John (xx. 2.) tells us, that she came to Peter and the other disciple whom Jesus loved. Suppose she had come to a particular apostle of whom John had been speaking just before, and to any other indifferent disciple, of whom at that time he neither had said, nor meant to say, any thing further; or suppose, if you choose, that this other disciple had been Joseph of Arimathea; if in either of these cases John had expressed himself thus—ερχεται προς τον αποστολον και αλλον μαθητην, or προς τον αποστολον και μαθητην ονομαζι Ιωσηφ απο Αριμαθαιας, would either of these expressions have been too barbarous to have been borne even in a fisherman and a foreigner?

But enough of hypothetical examples; which as you were probably not much *disposed* to prove the fallacy of your rule, you would not take the liberty of inventing, though you might have done it at pleasure, without any violent distortion of the greek idiom. Let us leave imaginary contradictions to your rule, and come to those which are real. Of these, though, for the reasons already assigned, we must expect them to be rarities, I have, as I told you, stumbled upon *two*, which none of your limitations, were they ever so well founded, will touch. I am indebted for them to your anonymous correspondent, "the honest compiler;" and I recommend them to your notice, as the best things in his book, because these *will* help to light you an inch or two on your way towards truth, whereas all the rest of his work is only calculated to keep you *in limbo patrum*, and to make you grope your way as well as

you

you can in the dark, across a region more dreary and dismal than poetic fancy ever feigned.

The first example is to be found in page 51, of your correspondent's letters, and is taken from Chrysostom's homily on 1 Tim. v. 21. where that father clearly understands the words σωτηρος θεου και κυριου ημων Ιησου of two different persons, the father and the son. And he is followed, in that explanation, as usual, by Oecumenius and Theophylact.

This example your correspondent admits to be 'directly contradictory' to your rule. And unless it can be somehow got rid of, it is fatal to your whole theory, as it proves that your rule does not, as you do, and must, maintain, to answer your purpose, *always* prevail. Your correspondent accordingly labours long and hard to get rid of it: but, at the outset of his attempt, he 'owns' (page 53), that 'he cannot furnish a satisfactory solution of the difficulty;' and at the end of it, 'he has nothing else 'to say at parting (page 62), but to repeat that 'he knows not how the difficulty is to be removed, 'otherwise than by supposing that κυριος did not 'come from the pen either of Chrysostom, Oecumenius, or Theophylact.'

'Unfortunately' all the copies of Chrysostom, printed and manuscript, as far as your correspondent can find, militate against this supposition. Then it is to be observed, that all the three, Chrysostom, Oecumenius, and Theophylact, have the word κυριος: and it seems to be a conjecture rather too violent to suppose, that the words have been altered exactly

in

in the same way in three different places of three different writers.

Your correspondent, however, not willing to abandon a theory, in support of which he has 'waded through so much,' tries other expedients. He seeks first for a different explanation of the text, 1 Tim. v. 21. in other parts of Chrysostom, Oecumenius, and Theophylact:—but in vain. Next he seeks for a different explanation of the same, or a similar form of expression, as the words occur ordinarily in those authors:—but in vain also. And therefore, as a last resort, he has recourse to other writers, not for a different explanation of the text, for that he had previously sought for to no purpose, but for general instances, where the form ὁ θεος και κυριος, is explained of one person. And here he rakes together six and twenty examples (page 57-61), in which this form of sound words is used when speaking of one person only.

But what does it avail to shew that an ambiguous phrase is used six and twenty times in one way? Does that prove, that it never is, and never can be used in another way? No. The contrary is proved, in this case, by *fact*. Chrysostom, Oecumenius, and Theophylact, have actually applied the words to *two* persons.

But perhaps the compiler will be surprised to hear me say, that, out of his six and twenty examples, there is not *one* which will prove that the writer of it thought the form ὁ θεος και κυριος, when taken by itself, without further help and assistance, was even capable

capable of being used, much less that it *must* be used, of one person only. For in every one of those instances, provided the reference be clearly and indisputably to one person, there is always something additional in the *context*, something besides the bare phrase itself, to limit and restrain the words to one person.

Either the two nouns are construed with a singular verb, pronoun, participle, or adjective, or they are put in apposition to a proper name in the singular number; or the latter of them is followed by no separate proper name of which it can be descriptive, and consequently, unless it be referred to the same person as the former noun θεος, would be a description without a thing to be described; or the article is so separated by the interposition of other articles, adjectives, or pronouns, from the first noun, as to prevent the reader from joining it to that noun exclusively, and to shew that it belongs to the whole phrase, composed of the two nouns and the conjunction, which phrase is thereby insulated, as it were, and the several parts of it; that is, the two nouns, are connected closely together, so as to indicate a unity of reference in the way I have pointed out in my second letter (page 33); or the numeral εις precedes the first noun; a circumstance which you yourself (page 13) have thought strong enough to set aside your fifth rule, so as to refer nouns to one person, which otherwise would be referred to two.

In short, there is something or other manifestly visible on the face of every one of the examples, which clearly marks the intention of the writer, and

points

points out an identity of reference, independently of any thing contained in the form itself. So that these twenty-six examples are so far from proving that nouns circumstanced as you describe, *must necessarily* relate to the same person, that they rather seem to imply that something more than the bare form of words is necessary and requisite to ascertain and fix the identity of reference.*

The other example which overturns your ingenious theory, and which is placed beyond the reach of your limitations, is to be found in the following words, which your correspondent has quoted in page 122 of his letters, from Justin Martyr; τε σωτηρος ημων Ιησε Χριστε και πνευματος αγιε. Apolog. i. p. 131. § 79. Ashton's edit. As you yourself have

* Your friend, however, does not seem to have made the most of his fathers; or he might have disposed of this example from Chrysostom, by a species of logic which would at least satisfy a determined trinitarian. What if that father understands τε θεε και κυριε, *apparently* of two persons, *father and son?* Tertullian tells us, that the word *father*, includes the *son*; aye, and *mother* too, if the church stands in need of it. Item in patre filius invocatur. Ego enim, inquit, et pater unum sumus. Ne mater quidem ecclesia præteritur. Siquidem in filio et patre mater recognoscitur, de qua constat et patris et filii nomen. Tertull. de Orat. cap. ii. p. 150. edit. Rigaltii, 1641. And thus when Chrysostom talks of *father* and *son*, he may only mean one and the same person all the while. A staunch trinitarian is like Tom Jenkins in the under-plot of Mr. Puff's tragedy in the farce of the *Critic*. He can find father, mother, brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts, all lying perdue, where nobody else would ever dream of meeting with one of them. I will not, however, close this note, without doing Tertullian the justice to say, that it is evident that *he* did not write this stuff, though we now read it in his works.

used

used πνευμα αγιον, as a personal noun, in the second example of your second rule, taken from Luke ii. 26, you cannot but consider this passage of Justin as conforming to all your limitations, and as perfectly unobjectionable every way.

Here, Sir, there is no Alexandrian MS. to *draw*, letter by letter, for a various reading; no comma, which, by your new theory of punctuation,* you can at pleasure either convert into a full point, or prove to be no point at all, by discovering, with the help of your magnifying glass, that it is nearly three times as long as it is broad;† nothing that you can *book* in; nothing to *accommodate* you. Alas! alas! will none of those powers, whose aid you are ordinarily accustomed to invoke, come to your assistance at this critical juncture? Must your minion, like another darling, whose cries "nor cruel Tom "nor Susan heard," be doomed to prove, "a fa-"vourite has no friend?"

* If you will look once more into the Port Royal Greek grammar, you will there see a full confutation of your theory of punctuation. In his introductory observations to Syntax, No. 3, the author of that work will inform you, that the antient Greeks used the point sometimes to denote a comma, and not always a full period, as you *will* have it to be.

† This magnifier does not always prove to be, in your hands, the mirror of accuracy. In p. 38 and 39, you tell us that the Alexandrian MS. omits χριστου in 1 Tim. v. 21., and has κυριω without τω before it, in 2 Tim. iv. 1. But this is a wrong statement of the Alexandrian readings, in both these texts. And the error evidently arises from your having mistaken the Alexandrian contraction of χριστω for that of κυριω. The reading of both texts in that MS. is the same, viz. τω θεω και χριστω Ιησου.

What

What if you make an extraordinary effort in this sad dilemma, and say, that some 'impious Socinian' has expunged the article τὸ before πνευμαλος, in the passage from Justin? You know, Sir, you have been witness to the wicked tricks of these same 'apostates and sadducees,' and have kindly favoured us with some shrewd hints, (p. 36. 40. 49.), of their omitting words and interpolating points in the most valuable MS. in the kingdom, on purpose to ruin your theory, and the doctrine deduced from it.* Alas! the mischief here would be that, if you say the article has been surreptitiously taken away from this passage, those confounded fellows, the *Socinians*, will remind you of what they will call the equity of that impertinent maxim, *petimus damusque vicissim*, and will claim a right of thrusting a second article into any one of your mistranslated texts, which they think proper to have on their own side, and so ruin your whole system that way.

What *are* we to do? The grand champion of orthodoxy, the mighty magician, he that turns man

* When *Sir Roger de Coverley*, in his visit to Westminster-abbey, was shewn the figure of one of our kings without a head, he said to the guide, who told him the head had been stolen;—"Some *whig*, I'll warrant you;—you ought to lock up your "kings better; they will carry off the body too, if you don't "take care." But I think, Sir, the good old knight was no match for you at a shrewd suspicion. His *whigs*, at least had something to get by their attempt, for the head, it seems, was of beaten silver; but your bugbears, the *Socinians*, had nothing to hope for from their bungling plots to ruin you, (as you tell us, p. 86,) but certain 'detection and demonstrated ignorance and 'absurdity.'

into

into God, and yet keeps him man still, making him so perfectly both, that he is completely neither; the great ὁ, ἡ, τὸ, is at his last gasp. "Mighty victor, "mighty lord, low on his funeral couch he lies!" And unless you administer something of more efficacy than all that you have yet prescribed, "thy son "is gone, he rests among the dead;" ωλέλο καλος Αδωνις, επαιαζεσω Ερωΐες.*

But you *will* administer, I doubt not, some new *nostrum*, some fresh additional *limitations*; for it seems (page 2), your darling has had these ugly fainting fits before now, and successive doses of *limitation* given, as I conjecture, *pro re nata*, have already saved his life three several times. Your friend produced some examples against you, consisting probably of impersonal nouns, and your alarm suggested your first limitation. He then produced some plurals, and that called forth your second. And lastly, he produced some proper names, and that conjured up your third. And thus, to combat every new

* What a fine thing greek is! Before men come to the use of their reason, *fe, fa, fum* serves well enough to frighten them out of their senses. But the Bible is so *very* plain and full, from one end of it to the other, for the *unity* of the Deity, so expressly denies the doctrine of a *trinity*, declaring that no person whatever but the *father* of Jesus is *truly* God, (John xvii. 1–3.), that almost any way-faring man, when arrived at years of maturity, reading it according to the apostles rules, (1 Cor. xiv. 20. 1 Thess. v. 21.) would find it more than a match for infant prejudices; and there would be no keeping the common people *sound* in the mystery of *three persons in one nature, and two natures in one person*, if ὁ, ἡ, τὸ and his brethren were not at hand to carry on the good work which *fe, fa, fum* has so happily begun.

example,

example, you might go on, for there is no end of these fancies, with new limitations, perpetually giving us "another and another, to the last syllable of "recorded time." The only reason that you have for making any of your limitations, past, present, or to come, whether you are thoroughly aware of it or not, is, I am satisfied, this; that you find them very convenient things to disarm your opponents, and to prevent the discovery, and proscribe the use, of all such examples as you cannot convert to your own purposes.

As I know not, therefore, how many or what sort of limitations you may have in reserve, I shall take the shortest way to put an end to limitations of all sorts and sizes, by inquiring into the true import and meaning of those texts of scripture, which, by means of your multifarious devices of *hooks*, *italics*, *transpositions*, *accommodations*, *limitations*, &c. &c. you would press into the service of absurdity, and of which, for this noble purpose, you have given us what you call a corrected, and I a corrupted, version.*

* "Men first contrive their religion, and possess their fancies "thoroughly with their private opinions, and then read the "scripture with no other design, then to find something there to "stamp divinity on their own conceits. Such men found their "religion on obscure texts, or mystical interpretations of plain "texts, and by the help of some arbitrary distinctions and *limi-* "*tations*, glosses, and paraphrases, by curtailing of texts, or "*transplacing words and commas*, or separating a single sentence "from the body of the discourse, make the scripture speak their "sense as plainly, as the bells ring what every boy will have "them. Which is, to deal with the scripture, (as Irenæus ob-"serves,) as if a man should take a picture of the *king*, which

"consisted

And here we shall come into a little closer contact with your friend the compiler, who has confined his lucubrations to these texts, and to the exposition given of them by fathers and schoolmen; men who were once thought to be inspired, but whose tapers now burn very dim and blue, and who are in no small danger of having their very candlesticks removed out of their places. But before I descend to particulars, I must say something about the general plan of your correspondent.

His whole fabric rests upon a rotten foundation, or rather it is built without any foundation at all. It is not only 'unwieldy and cumbersome,' but quite baseless. He begins with observing, that if your rule be true, the fathers would be found to adhere to it, by giving 'invariably' to the texts in question 'the 'same sense in which you understand them.' (p. 3.) This might be granted; though, if the rule be not altogether mechanical, and wholly dependant upon habitual custom for its application, but require some skill, discernment, and nicety of observation in the use of it, even this might not be altogether true, especially of the later fathers, many of whom were extremely ignorant, and without the least pretensions to accuracy or discernment. But suppose all this be

"consisted of an artificial composition of precious stones, and "transplace all these stones into another form, as suppose of an "ape, and then should persuade silly people that that was the "king's picture: at this rate we may find the *Alcoran* in the "Bible, as well as make so many books, so different and contrary "to each other from the various composition of twenty-four "letters."—*Dean* SHERLOCK's *Discourse concerning the Knowledge of Jesus Christ*, 2d. edit. 1674. p. 70.

granted, yet nobody, I believe, who knows any thing about the matter, will grant the converse of the proposition, which is the ground upon which the compiler erects his edifice. No one who knows what the fathers were, especially the post-nicene fathers, and your friend has little to do with any others, will grant that because *such* men interpret the texts to which you apply your rule, in the same way as you do, that therefore your rule must be true. The bias and bigotry of these fathers shine forth in every page of their works, and are well known to all readers of ecclesiastical history. They were sure to twist and turn every thing in which there was the smallest ambiguity, and even to strain and pervert many in which there was no ambiguity at all, towards that side which they called orthodox, that is, towards the side on which their own opinions, or rather their own temporal interests, lay.* To try the cause by such men, is not to impannel fairly, but to *pack* most foully, a jury in your favour.

By way of amusing us, and bribing our fancies in your behalf, your friend also gives us what he calls (page 9) 'an ideal picture.' *Suppose*, says he, that

* "Notre siécle, et la connoissance que nous avons d'une infinité de personnes, ne nous apprennent que trop, que l'on fait souvent des livres, non pour soutenir ce que l'on croit véritablement; mais parce qu'on se promet d'être avancé par là. Il ne faut pas douter que les hommes ne fussent faits autrefois, comme ils le sont aujourd'hui; de sorte qu'en lisant les anciens comme les modernes, on doit prendre garde aux sentimens qu'ils avoient interêt de soutenir, et les distinguer avec soin de ceux que l'on avance, sans en pouvoir espérer de l'avantage."—*Le* CLERC, *Bibliothéque Universelle*, vol. x. p. 371.

we had within our reach all that came from the hands of the christian greek writers for the first six centuries; and *suppose* that they all explained the texts in question as you do; and *suppose* that this explanation was never murmured at by those whose heresies were affected by it; and *suppose* that even the orthodox at one time wished to give a different interpretation; and *suppose* that, notwithstanding this, they, and all other parties, perpetually used not only these very expressions, but others like them, in that one constant meaning pointed out by you;—this, I imagine, says he, would be satisfactory.

But in this picture, which is indeed quite *ideal*, the painter has shewn himself to be very unskilful, both in composition and expression. The foregoing figures, comparatively insignificant, he places in the most conspicuous situations in the front of his canvass; and then thrusts into an obscure corner of the back ground that which is in reality the most important character in the whole piece, and ought to have stood most prominent in the group. 'If,' says he, 'we should see the philological peculiarity' of your rule 'appearing not only in a few texts, but 'preserved *through the whole language*, we might then 'boldly declare, that the idiom was not ambiguous.' So much for his composition! in which, however, he is not more defective than he is in expression. Though he calls his picture ideal, he means all his figures for real portraits; for he says of it, at the beginning of his book, that though '*at present* all is 'merely ideal, it may be a subject of future consideration, whether or no he shall have been able to

'realize any of its features.' Now, there is not the least resemblance, in a single feature, to any original upon the face of the earth. Not only have numbers of the christian writers of every description perished by the ravages of time, but almost all of those whom the bigotry, ignorance, and rage of orthodoxy deemed heretical, have been wilfully destroyed;* the few who have survived, have been so mutilated and corrupted, as to be almost unintelligible;† the expositions of texts, even in the orthodox, is far from being uniform; and so little has the *whole language* been consulted for your rule, that neither you nor your correspondent have produced a single example from any but ecclesiastical writers. To what purpose, then, this ideal picture, *cujus, velut ægri somnia, vanæ finguntur species*, but to make us laugh as soon as the curtain is drawn up?

But when we have paused a while, in order to allow you a little leisure for reviewing the ground over which we have passed, we will go on to our texts.

* See a letter of the Emperor Constantine's to the bishops and people, inserted in Socrat. Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. ix. p. 31. edit. Reading, 1720. Sandius also observes: Postquam a primitiva religione desciverant episcopi ac theologi, ut titulos hosce, catholicæ ac apostolicæ ecclesiæ, suo cætui arrogarent ac vendicarent, summa ope nitebantur, ne qua documenta, ne qua vestigia pristinæ remanerent veritatis, seculari quoque brachio ad id abusi nefarie.—*Pref. ad* NUCLEUM, *Hist. Eccles. See also* DALLÆUS *de usu Patrum*, part i. cap. iv. p. 99. edit. 1656.

† Erasmus, in his address to the reader, prefixed to his notes on Jerome's catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, says, no one who has the interest of literature at heart, can read the list without grief, hinc intelligens, ex tot egregiis clarissimorum virorum monumentis vix paucula quædam superesse, atque ea sane mutila, depravata, contaminataque.

LETTER IV.

Unto thee it was shewed, that thou mightest know that the LORD [Heb. Jehovah] he is God; there is none else besides him. Deut. iv. 35.

These words spake Jesus; and lift up his eyes to heaven, and said, FATHER, ... this is life eternal, that they might know THEE THE ONLY TRUE GOD, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. John xvii. 1. 3.

Jesus of Nazareth, a MAN approved of God. Acts ii. 22.

SIR,

AGAINST your mode of explaining those texts which I am now about to examine, there lie two most important and decisive objections, which affect your interpretations of them all. The first is drawn from the *context* in which the words occur: a much better guide, in my opinion, to the true sense and meaning of an author's words, than any petty, minute, verbal criticisms about articles and conjunctions, strong as even these latter are, in all the present instances, against you. You tell us that you consider these texts as *proofs* of the divinity of Jesus. Now, in every one of them it is quite foreign to the business the writer has in hand to make him undertake the *proof* of any thing relating to the metaphysical nature and essence of Jesus. Were you to consider these texts merely as *alluding* to what had been proved and acknowledged before, the context would be violated by such an *allusion*, in the

first of the texts, if not in the others: but when you make them *proofs*, it is violated in all.

The second objection is drawn from the *consequence* deduceable from your interpretation, which, however you may be pleased with it, amounts, in my idea, to an absolute *impossibility*.

When you infer from these, or any other texts of scripture, that Jesus is God, you seem to forget that he was once really present upon earth, and conversed among mankind. Those who talk so familiarly of *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, appear to me to do so without having any more impression of any thing *real* and *substantial* excited in their minds by the term which they use for the second person of their trinity, than by that which they use for the third person, or than they have when they use the word *ghost* to denote any other phantom of the imagination. They learn in their youth a *theological* language, just as they learn any other language, greek, latin, or french, for instance: and then, when they grow up, they repeat the words *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, and conceive each word to mean *God*, exactly in the same way, and with as much ease, as they do the three *names* for God, in the three languages I have mentioned.

But now, Sir, let any man seriously and deliberately ask himself, whether a real perſon now actually standing before him, in a human form, I do not say *is*, but *can possibly be*, God. But possibility and impossibility were the same things in the days of Jesus, as they are at this moment: and Jesus we know did actually converse and live among mankind

kind in a form which, to all appearance, and to the testimony of every sense, was that of a mere man. Either, therefore, he was really such, and nothing more, or he was a deception. If it be granted that he was really a mere man, the controversy is at an end. But if it be said he was a deception, then, though it is true that God, and God alone, *could*, yet it is not probable that he *would*, so deceive his creatures: because his miracles are not wrought, like the tricks of a juggler, to puzzle and confound, but to enlighten and inform his people. But let us suppose, however improbable, that Jesus was a deception: then God would be the *cause* indeed of the deception, but he could not possibly *be* the deception *itself*, any more than he can possibly be any other of his productions. God may *cause* any thing, animate or inanimate, such as the sun, a man, a vegetable, &c. to exist, or he may *cause* us to be deceived with the appearances of them; but he cannot possibly *be* himself any of them; whether they be realities or deceptions. And this seems to me to follow directly and inevitably, not only from the *invisibility* and *immutability* of God, but from every thing else that we can comprehend of his nature.

Either of these two considerations, more especially the last, appears to me sufficient to overturn all your interpretations. But you theological mystery-mongers are so enamoured with your fancies, that you shut your eyes against both context and consequences, and *will* have your doctrines lugged in, with or without connection, possible or impossible,

upon every, or rather upon no occasion. Taking it for granted that the head and heart of every prophet and apostle was as full of such lumber as your own, whenever you do not clearly see the drift of the sacred writers, which I fear is often the case, and sometimes I suspect when you do see it, if one of your catch-words does but happen to come across you, there is no resisting the call, away you go like madmen the moment the disordered string is touched, and can see or hear nothing afterwards but the phantom of your own imaginations; which is always one or other of the base-born children of that mother of harlots, MYSTERY. (Rev. xvii. 5.)

I now proceed to examine each text in particular, and shall shew you, independently of the foregoing considerations, which are applicable to all the texts, that none of them will *bear* your translation without a departure from the *natural* and *obvious* rendering, and doing violence, more or less, to the words of the writer; that you can derive no strength nor support to your interpretations from the labours of your correspondent, the unwieldy compiler; that if the sacred writers had meaned to say what you would have them say, they would have expressed themselves differently from what they have done; and that the real meaning of some of the passages in question, seems to be different, not only from what you, but from what our established translators, have supposed.

I shall take the texts in the order in which they stand in your table of contents, and begin with,

Εν τη βασιλεια τε χριςε και θεε. Ephes. v. 5.

Here we must observe, that χριςος is not a proper name, but an epithet.* This you allow, calling it (p. 30) a 'substantive' (though, by the bye, it is an adjective) 'of personal description;' and this your limitations oblige you to allow, or you could not consistently here apply your rule. Though you have, notwithstanding, rendered it as a proper name in your corrected version, both in the table of contents, and in the last of your translations given in page 31.

Now χριςος being an epithet, you render the ex-

* From a passage in Tertullian, it seems as if it were not *familiarly* used as a proper name till about his time. Si tamen nomen est Christus et non appellatio potius; *unctus* enim significatur. Unctus autem non magis nomen est quam vestitus, quam calceatus, accidens nomini res. Tertull. advers. Prax. c. xxviii. p. 660. edit. Rigalt, 1641. This seems to be the language of a man speaking of a word whose signification was rather unsettled. Lactantius and Jerome afterwards observe, that *Christ* is not a proper name; but they express themselves in a way which does not insinuate any doubt about the usage, or give any suspicion that the meaning was unsettled in their times. They barely advert to the etymology. Jesus inter homines nominatur, nam Christus non proprium nomen est, sed nuncupatio potestatis et regni. Lactant. Institut. lib. iv. cap. vii. vol. i. p. 287. edit. Dufresnoy. Christus commune dignitatis est nomen, Jesus proprium vocabulum salvatoris. Hieronym. in Matt. xvi. 20. vol. iv. p. 75. edit. Benedict. This variation in the acceptation of the term *Christ*, makes sometimes a vast difference as to the facility of construing various texts of scripture, in this or that sense. And in quoting from the fathers it ought to be attended to; because, from this circumstance alone, an interpretation which to one of the earlier fathers would appear harsh and forced, might seem quite natural to one of those who lived in later times.

pression

pression quite harsh and intolerable, by making that word relate to the same person as θεος; and that, whether you understand this latter word as a substantive of personal description, which you affirm it to be in page 30, or as a proper name, in which way you translate it in all your versions of this passage, again contradicting yourself with regard to this word as you had before done with regard to the other. How very harsh the phrase becomes by referring the two nouns to one and the same person, cannot but be evident to every one who will but render them literally, as subjects of a proposition, or nominative cases to a verb.

He must be a rude writer indeed, more rude I think than the most rude of the Galilean penmen, who should say: "The anointed and God" (meaning thereby one and the same person) "did so and "so." Would any one ever think of expressing himself thus: "The eternal and God" (meaning the same being) "created the heavens?" This would be like a prophane writer's telling us, that "the "great and Alexander conquered the world." And you do not at all mend the matter, if you do not make it worse, by translating και by *even*. For not to urge that, και so rendered not being a copulative, the phrase, strictly speaking, would not come under your rule, we may observe that, according to this rendering, the particle becomes not merely an expletive, but a perfect incumbrance. To say, "In "the kingdom of the anointed even God," if one and the same being be intended, is exactly like saying: "In the contemplation of the divine even "being."

" being." Every writer who had that meaning in view, would certainly omit καὶ, *even*, as a word that obscured, instead of elucidating, his meaning.

Your correspondent has collected from the fathers twenty-one greek passages, in which this text is quoted. Of these he tells you, that twelve determine nothing with respect to its meaning: but still *he* is determined that you shall have not only all these at full length, (p. 36 and 10), but thirty more latin passages alſo, of which, he adds, ' you may, ' *perhaps*, claim three to your side, the rest being ' plainly against you :' for in this sort of civility he outdoes Dogberry himself; " and though he be but " a poor painter, hearing as good exclamation on " your worship as of any man in the city, truly, for " his own part, if he were as tedious as a king, he " could find in his heart to bestow it all on your " worship."

The other nine greek passages, he *says*, ' are clear ' testimonies for your interpretation.' Were they ſo, and were they nine times as many, testimony so *packed*, for reasons already stated, would be no confirmation of your rule. But alas! this is all ideal painting. Among all the nine, there is not *one* clear testimony for your interpretation. Seven of them are clearly against you. And of the other two, the most that can be said for you is, that they are neutral, or as your correspondent might choose to express it, ' contain nothing *contrary* to your interpre- ' tation ;' which, however, it should seem from his way of estimating, is still to be deemed a prodigious thing in your favour.

In

In the passage from the Pseudo-Athanasius, which he has labelled No. 2, the writer finds it convenient to *accommodate* the original words of the text to his purpose, as you also do your version of them. He reads εν τη βασιλειᾳ κυριε και θεε, not only changing the adjective χριστε into a substantive κυριε, but omitting the article also. A very material change! making it much more natural, easy, and agreeable, to the greek idiom, to refer the words *thus altered*, than to refer Paul's original words, to one person. Your *ideal* friend would attribute the change to an error in transcribing; but the sentence immediately following, in which κυριος is twice repeated, with an evident reference to the use of the same word before, forbids this supposition. Besides, the writer, in the words immediately preceding, mutilates another of Paul's texts (Rom. ix. 5.) to suit his purpose. It is therefore more probable that he altered this by design. But he never would have altered it if he had known your rule, and had thought that the words, as they originally stood, *must* be explained according to it.

In the passages, Nos. 15 and 16, from Cyril, and consequently in No. 29, which is only a transcript of No. 15, that writer contends that Christ is God, because Paul has here declared the kingdom, by which word Cyril understands power, or dominion, of the one, to be that of the other; and because, whoever naturally and necessarily has a divine power inherent in him, must be a divine being. Now Cyril never would have gone about to prove the divinity of Christ by a *deduction* from Paul's words, if he had

had considered those words as directly asserting the fact without any deduction. Nay, Cyril's argument evidently goes upon the supposition, that Christ and God are mentioned in this text as two distinct persons, which is quite contrary to your rule.*

In No. 17, the same writer argues also from the power or dominion, not from the form of words: for, having mentioned Christ as being by nature *lord*, he adds, *in this way*, ταυτη, (which the latin translator renders by the word *quare*, which, though not quite accurate, might still have served to keep your correspondent from the mistake he has fallen into) Paul says so and so; and then he quotes the text; but in a way which renders it unfit for the purposes of your theory. Your correspondent has

* I will give you a translation of a few words in the passage, No. 15, and also of a few more in No. 17, because some *soi-disant* critics have mis-translated them, and what more nearly concerns you and me, they call themselves *British*. The words in No. 15, are ιδε παλιν χριστον ονομασας ευθυς αυτον επιφερει και θεον, which *they* render: "Observe again, that having named Christ, "he immediately adds, *that he is God also*," very different from the true sense, which is: "Observe again, that having named "Christ, he immediately *introduces him and God*, as, &c." The words in No. 17, χριστον αυτον ονομαζει και θεον, ουτω λεγων, which they render: "He calls Christ *himself God also*, when he thus "speaks," ought to be rendered: "He names *him Christ and* "*God*, saying thus," &c. And then follows the text, in which it appears that the word *Christ* was taken by Cyril as a proper name, a sense which was fully established in that father's days by the usage of the church, though but little countenanced by the scriptures, and which you know makes a material alteration, not only in the application of your rule to the text, but in the sense which the fathers would put upon the text.

given

given you the quotation inaccurately, for he inserts the article τε before χριστε, which article Cyril omits.

In No. 21, Theodoret, altering the text, reads εν τη βασιλεια χριστε τε θεε, which, according to the compiler, 'is carelessly and unsuspectingly put down 'as the equivalent expression' to that in the original. But every school-boy knows that these two expressions are by no means equivalent. That which Theodoret has chosen to substitute for Paul's, is what grammarians call an *apposition*, a figure of speech which they all point out as expressly marking an identity of person; and you have done the same thing in your second and third rules, which, though delivered with all the parade of a new discovery, are nothing more than the old figure of apposition. Now, as this last mode of expression is so *pat* to Theodoret's purpose, as he has also, in the words immediately preceding, mutilated for the same purpose the text of Rom. ix. 5, and has moreover added, with perfect rhodomontade, that there are *ten thousand* other texts to the same tune, there are few persons, I believe, who will not be apt to suspect that the alteration of the words in this place, of Ephes. v. 5, was wilful, and that it was made because he thought Paul's own words were not quite so unambiguously expressive of identity of persons, as you would persuade us.

In No. 24, from Anastasius, Paul's words are again altered and turned into an apposition. And to mark that apposition, and the consequent identity of persons, more clearly and strongly, the pronoun ημων is added after θεε.

And

And thus, Sir, seven out of the ideal painter's nine clear testimonies for your interpretation, turn out to be against you. The two remaining, viz. Nos. 11 and 20, are neutral.

In the first of these, which your correspondent pronounces 'sufficiently express,' there is nothing express, except that Chrysostom means to apply the text to the proof of Christ's divinity. It does not at all appear in *what way* he means to apply it, or *how* he argues. The probability is, that he means to argue from it in the same way as Cyril and the rest of his fraternity, the greek and latin fathers, do; that is, to contend that Christ is a divine being, because Paul has here said that Christ's kingdom or authority is the same as that of God. But you, you know, Sir, argue from, and apply this text in a very different way, in order to bring out your mystery. You contend that Christ is here proved to be a divine being, because the words *Christ* and *God* are so circumstanced, that by the idiom of the greek language they must necessarily relate to one and the same person. Your argument is of such a kind that, doubtless, you would not have a tittle of the words altered for the world. But all the arguments of the fathers produced by your correspondent, which are at all express, are grounded, either upon an alteration of the words, or are a *deduction* from the unity of dominion. If Chrysostom, therefore, in No. 11, be not against you, on which side certainly the probability lies, the most that can be said is that he is neutral, for assuredly he decides nothing in your favour.

In

In No. 20, Theodoret quotes the text also to prove the divinity of Jesus, without explaining in what way he applies it. And he places it between two other texts, from the latter of which, viz. Luke ii. 11. he can only deduce the doctrine from the supposed dominion and sovereignty of Jesus. From the former, which is Tit. ii. 13. he may perhaps, though even that is not quite clear, mean to argue directly from the title or appellation of *God*, given, as you and some others would have it, to Jesus. And thus it is perfectly doubtful how Theodoret understood the text, and consequently the passage is neutral.

So much for your friend the compiler's nine clear testimonies! and for his second letter; of which I shall now take my leave, I hope for ever, after observing that some of those passages which he reckons as indeterminate, make against you; as, for instance, No. 26, from John of Damascus. The compiler calls this passage obscure: but I see no obscurity in it. The writer clearly understands the text as speaking of two distinct persons. And the comment, though taken from a miserable expositor, is the best and most christian explanation of Paul's words that is to be found in the compiler's farrago: for it makes him assert, that the kingdom of Christ is the kingdom of God, or, in other words, a kingdom of moral righteousness,* the privileges and blessings of

* Hilary, the deacon, also understands the kingdom of God, to mean a kingdom of moral righteousness. "Ad hoc enim re-"demit nos Deus, ut puram vitam sectantes, repleti operibus "bonis, regni Dei hæredes esse possimus."—Hil. Diac. as quoted by your correspondent, p. 100.

which

which no one must expect to inherit by being a mere believing christian; which, no doubt, is the drift of the apostle's reasoning.

Were it the design of any writer studious of accuracy, to convey to a reader that meaning which you attribute to this text, and to convey it in such a way as you describe, viz. so that the words *must* be necessarily taken in your sense, and no other, he would have expressed himself thus: εν τη βασιλειᾳ τȣ και χριϛȣ και θεȣ, "in the kingdom of him (or of one) "who is *both* Christ and God." Or thus, εν τη βασιλειᾳ τȣ χριϛȣ ὁς ϵϛι θεος, as in 2 Cor. iv. 4. Luke ii. 11. Or thus, τȣ χριϛȣ τȣ̃ϵϛι τȣ θεȣ, as in Heb. vii. 5.: though in this last mode some ambiguity would still continue; and it would not be altogether certain whether the writer meaned to say that Christ was God, or only that the kingdom of the one was that of the other.

In the two former modes there would be no doubt of the writer's intention to call Christ God. But it would still remain to be determined in what sense he so called him, whether, metaphysically, on account of his nature and essense, or only metaphorically, on account of his virtues. And this question could only be settled by the context, and by the general tenor of the writer's sentiments and doctrines. So far are your texts from proving the divinity of Jesus, even if we suppose them to be so worded as to leave no doubt whatever about their calling him God.

Our common version of this text, by referring the two nouns to different persons, avoids all the harsh-

ness and violence of your interpretation, and is therefore much preferable to yours: though in what sense exactly the translators understood the words does not appear from their naked and literal version. The true way of construing the passage, however, I take to be this:—to supply by ellipsis before θεῦ all those words which precede χριστῦ, and to understand καὶ exegetically. Then the rendering will be: "*In "Christ's, that is, in God's kingdom.*"

In this way of explaining the text, we see great reason for Paul's adding the words καὶ θεῦ, which now appear to contain not a mere nugatory, out-of-the-way assertion, foreign to every thing that he was talking of; but an important explanation, closely and intimately connected with his subject, and carrying on what is the great object and design, not only of this, but of almost all his epistles.

In our Saviour's life time, the nature of the Messiah's kingdom was grossly misunderstood by the Jews, who expected that their nation was to be raised to temporal power and dominion; and though, after his death, the Christians, in consequence of that event, and of the apostles' preaching, were soon pretty well undeceived as to any expectations of earthly grandeur, yet numbers of them, for a long while, continued to make the Messiah's kingdom so much of a worldly kingdom, as to contend bitterly with each other for pre-eminence, on the mere ground of external worldly distinctions, and to agitate the question, whether the circumcision, or uncircumcision, were greatest in the kingdom of heaven.

To

To counteract such notions, our Saviour declared that his kingdom was not of this world, calling it, on all occasions, the kingdom of heaven and of God. And Paul, with the same views, labours, in all his epistles, to shew that it was not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy, in a holy spirit or temper. (Rom. xiv. 17. and comp. Ephes. iv. 23.) Accordingly when he here (Ephes. v. 5.) mentions the kingdom of Christ, he adds, to guard against the prevailing error, that that kingdom was the kingdom of God.

In this way the text is understood by most of the greek and latin fathers, as your correspondent's collections will shew you. I do not mean to say, that their suffrages give any great weight or authority to the interpretation: for of all the expounders of scripture, your post-nicene father is, generally speaking, the most miserable.* But if your corres-

* "The most learned and inquisitive of our protestant divines, "and even those who pay the greatest reverence to the charac- "ters of the fathers, are forced to confess ..... that their in- "terpretations of the scripture are generally so unnatural and "extravagant that, instead of being the dictates of a divine in- "spiration, they seem to be the effects rather of an unsound "mind and disordered reason."—MIDDLETON's *Vindicat. of his Free Inquiry. Works*, p. 190. vol. ii. 8vo. edit.

We have seen a curious specimen of interpretation taken from the Works of Tertullian, (see above, note upon p. 60.) which, however, doubtless, came from some post-nicene father. I will give you another specimen from Basil the *Great*. He finds Jesus to be *God*, of the *same substance* with the Father, because, yea verily, *because* he says, (John xiv. 28.), "my Father is greater "than I." Ἐγω δε και εκ ταυτης της φωνης, το ὁμοουσιον ειναι τον υἱον τῳ πατρι, δηλουσθαι νομιζω. His argument is, that comparisons are

 always

pondent had paid more attention to this circumstance, he would have understood more, and misapplied less, of the rubbish he has raked together.

We will now turn from this text, which has detained us too long already, and go on to the rest, which I hope we shall dispatch in less compass.

Καλα την χαριν τυ θευ ἡμων, και κυριυ Ιησυ χριςυ.
2 Thess. i. 12.

Your version of these words is by no means so obvious and natural as the established translation. In order to obtain it, you must transpose the words *Jesus Christ*, and also either transpose the pronoun ἡμων, as in your first rendering (p. 37), or understand an ellipsis of it after κυριυ, as in your second.

always appropriated to things of the *same* kind; thus one angel is greater than another angel, one man more just than another man, one bird swifter than another bird. Since, therefore, things which are brought into comparison with each other, are always of the *same* kind, and the Father is here said to be *comparatively* greater than the son, therefore the son must be of the *same substance* with the father. See Basil's Epist. ad Cæsarienses. Epist. VIII. vol. iii. p. 84. edit. Benedict. In other editions it is epist. CXLI. It is in the same epistle, p. 81. E. ejusd. edit. that he answers the charge of *tritheism*, by confessing that he held God not to be *one in number*, but in *nature* only; ου τω αριθμω αλλα τη φυσει. And he has some reasoning to justify this *bold* assertion, which however is above my comprehension. The reader of this specimen will perhaps be inclined to think, that the epithet of *Great* has been very judiciously annexed to the name of Basil, because, being an adjective, it leaves every one at liberty to join whatever substantive to it he pleases. For another specimen of paternal logic, see what is said of Ambrose, below, note on page 92.

But

But no accurate and exact writer, who meaned that either of these things should be done, would have given to the words *Jesus Christ*, or to the pronoun, their present situations.

Upon this text, the ideal painter tells you (p. 39), he has 'not one decisive passage' to produce; but no matter for that, he contrives to spread out a table with several dishes of what he calls 'bare ex-'tracts,' which it must be owned are bare and barren enough. He recommends them 'as philological 'probabilities, which must be *felt*, but cannot be *de-'scribed*' (p. 42). He is quite right. I dare say, if you have 'waded through' all that he has set before you, you have *felt* much more than you can *describe*.

He who meaned to deliver with a precision, that *must* be attended to, the sense you give to this text, should have expressed himself thus; καλα την χαριν Ιησε χριςε τε ήμων και θεε και κυριε.

The common version, which refers θεος and κυριος to different persons, is unquestionably more obvious and easy than your's. But there is one more obvious still, which refers both nouns to the same person, viz. not to Jesus, but to the God of Jesus, which I am persuaded is the true version of the text. It is this:—"*By the blessing of the God of us,* "*and Lord of Jesus Christ.*"

Ενωπιον τε θεε, και κυριε Ιησε Χριςε.

1 Tim. v. 21. 2 Tim. iv. 1.

Here you wander from the plain highway of interpretation, by transposing the proper name *Jesus*

Christ. And besides this 'little transposition,' your rendering of τε θεε και κυριε by, '*the God and lord*,' without any thing else to follow it, sounds so harsh to your own ear, that you are forced to pretend that the article sometimes has the power of a possessive pronoun, and to foist in, by way of *accommodation*, the word *our*.

The letter which the 'feeling philologer' has addressed to you upon this text, is chiefly occupied in attempting to get rid of Chrysostom's comment upon the passage, who explains it of two persons, and who thus, by barely giving his opinion, that the words *may* be so understood, ruins your whole theory of the article. I have already noticed the contents of this letter, (p. 57—60.)

Had your meaning been intended, the expression, if the writer had been careful to word his ideas so that we *must* understand them in that sense, should have been : ενωπιον Ιησε Χριςε τε και θεε και κυριε.

Our established version of this text is much better than your's : but I think the most obvious and the true rendering is :—" *Before the God and lord of* " *Jesus Christ.*"

• Τε μεγαλε θεε και σωτηρος ημων Ιησε Χριςε. Tit. ii. 13.

In this text, θεος is evidently a proper name. Indeed the first and most obvious mode of understanding θεος in the scriptures, is always to consider it as such, in whatever passage it occurs. It is only in consequence of some secondary and more remote considerations of connection, context, &c. that we can construe it as an appellative. But here the context

text pulls the other way; for it is expressly and distinctly pointed out to be a proper name, in this passage, by the nature of the adjective prefixed to it. Were we to understand it as an appellative, since appellatives are not particular, but general names, the first and obvious use and meaning of such an adjective, standing in such a connection, would be to particularise and modify the appellation, to restrain and limit its general sense to a more confined acceptation, and to distinguish, in point of greatness, the individual here described from other individuals to whom the same appellation may be given. The adjective, in this case, would denote a comparison betwcen one god and another, and would indicate that the writer spoke of the great God, in opposition to smaller gods. And this sense of the words would so readily and naturally present itself to every reader, upon the supposition of θεος being an appellative, or, as you term it, a noun of personal description, that every writer who had any pretensions to accuracy, would certainly guard against it, either by a transposition of the words *Jesus Christ*, by interposing some word of separation between the adjective and the appellative, or by some other means, if he did not mean to be so understood. But no christian writer, who admits of no God but one, much less any writer of the New Testament, could ever have such a meaning. The word θεος, therefore, in this passage, cannot be an appellative, but must be used in its primary sense of a proper name: and then ὁ μεγας θεος will naturally mean, *the great*

being God, God who is great; just as we say in english, *the mighty God*, meaning thereby, *God Almighty*.

This observation would have a considerable effect upon the application of your rule to the words we are considering: but I shall not stop to notice it, because I look upon myself as having done with both rule and limitations, and therefore go on with my remarks on the text.

It appears then, from what has been said, that the text contains two proper names, *God* and *Jesus*. Each of these is attended by its appropriate description. To the one is prefixed the epithet of *great*, or *mighty*; and to the other is prefixed, in like manner and situation, the corresponding epithet of *our saviour*. The sentence, therefore, *naturally* and *obviously*, divides itself into two parts; and the structure of it plainly points out two distinct and separate beings.

But this is not all that forbids your interpretation, and convicts it of being far-fetched and unnatural. For if, according to your mode of construing, the two nouns θεος and σωτηρ be understood as descriptive appellations of one and the same person, then, as I have shewn you, when I investigated the nature of your general form for such expressions, the article which precedes the first noun must be supplied by ellipsis before the second. But the idiom of the language, if we would follow the natural and obvious construction, requires, that when we bring forward the article from the first noun to the second, we should also bring forward whatever intervenes between

between that article and the first noun, that is, in this case, the adjective *great*. But that adjective is altogether inapplicable to the second noun, *Saviour*, and cannot be construed with it. Nay, the word *saviour* is never found throughout the New Testament accompanied with any adjective whatever. These two nouns, therefore, *God* and *saviour*, are not here intended to be descriptions of one and the same being.

The position of ἡμων also militates against your interpretation. For though it *may*, in such a situation, be construed with both, and often is so construed, yet the most *obvious* and *natural* construction is to restrict and confine it to the noun to which it is immediately annexed, unless something forbids, or points out a different construction. And here there is nothing to forbid, but your fanciful, unfounded theory of the article.

The order of the words is likewise against your interpretation. For if the two nouns were both intended to describe the greatness of Jesus's person, it is natural to suppose the writer would rise in his description; but here, on the contrary, he sinks. It is an anti-climax. There is also an odd mixture of a metaphysical description, *God*, with one that is moral, *saviour*.

Many other objections may be urged against your explanation of this text, such as, that the words ὁ μεγας θεος, and other similar epithets and high titles of God are peculiarly characteristic of the God and father of Jesus, and are applied to him only, in the uniform language both of the sacred, and of the early

early ecclesiastical writers also, &c. &c. But for these objections I shall content myself with referring you to Clarke's Reply to Nelson, p. 85—89.*

Upon this text the compiler fears (p. 105), that he has accumulated authorities 'even to weariness:' an apprehension which, if you have attempted to follow him, step by step, you, I doubt not, have proved to be extremely well founded. He himself, in his character of a *feeling* philologer, professes to be, as he well might be, tired of amassing so much. He might have added, to so little purpose: for though in his *ideal* painting, all his authorities are decidedly for your interpretation, more than one half of them are, at least, neutral; if some of them be not directly against you. For proof of this assertion, I refer you to Nos. 1—6. 8—13. 19—21. 23. 25. 28—30. 40. 42, 43. 45—49. and 53.†

* Erasmus, whose note is transcribed by your correspondent, delivers his sentiments upon this text with great candour and fairness. He is so far from contending, as you do, that it *must* be understood to speak of Jesus as God, that he says:—Negari non potest quin sermo græcus sit ambiguus, plane anceps, imo magis pro Arianis facere videatur quam pro nobis; though, as he observes, it has been produced by the fathers with great exultation against these *impious* heretics. He notices the omission of the article before the second noun, but seems to think it of little consequence. *Quanquam* omissus articulus facit *nonnihil* pro diversa sententia. *Evidentius* distinxisset personas, si dixisset και τυ σωτηρος, which I suppose every body will allow.

† Of one of the passages in this fifth letter of your correspondent, viz. No. 52, your editor, Mr. Burgess, has given a translation in page 23 of your Remarks; but he has wrongly translated the latter part of it. He renders το δε μεγας επι θευ λεγεται by, *He is called great God*, as if Theophylact was still speaking of

Of these, Nos. 11 and 12 seem to understand the text as speaking of two persons. And Nos. 47 and 48 have *accommodated* Paul's words by a 'little trans-'position' of the proper name *Jesus Christ*, in order to make the text speak of one person, which no writer would do, who held that the words, as they stand, *must* necessarily relate to one and the same person only. These, therefore, are against you.

The extracts, Nos. 3—5, seem to be interpolated, as some of the expressions are not compatible with Athanasius's tenets and doctrine. In No. 30 also, the words from τι εν . . . . . down to επι παντων θεος, in which clause the text is contained, are evidently an interpolation, crept in from the marginal note of some commentator, as they interrupt and confuse Chrysostom's argument, which goes on very smoothly without them; and without any need of the compiler's point of interrogation. These passages therefore, like the rest, are quite neutral.

I will not go into an examination of any of them, as you must be sufficiently tired of them already, and as I have before pointed out enough of your correspondent's misapplication of his authorities, in his former letters. Indeed, if I had not, the labour would be a work of supererogation; because, if all the rubbish which he has scraped up, from one

of Jesus; whereas he here ceases to speak of Jesus, and talks of the *general* application of the epithet *great* to the word *God*. "The epithet *great* is given to *God* not," &c.—and that this is the sense, appears not only from the words themselves, but from a comparison of this with another passage of the same writer, and also with one of Oecumenius, and another of Chrysostom. See Nos. 51, 50, and 31, of your correspondent's collection.

end

end of his book to the other, were ever so well applied, ever so decisive for your sense of the words, yet all his authorities together, if they were twice as many as they are, would be insufficient to prove that a single text even *may* fairly, legitimately, and naturally, much less that it *must* necessarily, bear the interpretation which those sons of passion and prejudice, of interest and ignorance, the fathers of christianity, *by law established*, have put upon it.

What your correspondent says (p. 19), of Ambrose,* and *some* others of the antient fathers, he

* You will, perhaps, think it rather hard, that Ambrose should be singled out to bear the blame of the whole crew, when I tell you that he has done more for you and your cause, than all the rest of them put together. What you and your correspondent have laboured so hard to do by conjunction and article, he will shew you how to do by conjunction alone. By virtue of the mysteries contained in this important part of speech, he can prove God and Jesus to be the same being, from (heaven defend us! is it possible? or is it altogether a delusion of the eyesight when we behold him proving it from?) John xvii. 3. "that they might know thee the only true God *and* Jesus Christ, "whom thou hast sent;" where, says this prince of logicians, the evangelist, by the conjunction, patrem utique copulavit et filium, ut Christum verum deum a majestate patris nemo secernat. *Nunquam enim conjunctio separat.* Ambrosius de Fide; lib. v. cap. i. vol. ii. p. 554. edit. Benedict. Were any one to object that this rule would prove "the Lord *and* Samuel" (1 Sam. xii. 18.), to be the same persons, the Saint, to be sure, would stand in need of one of your *limitations*, to exclude proper names. But then, on the other hand, he can, if he chooses, prove "the Lord *and* the King" (1 Chron. xxix. 20.), to be one and the same, which is more than you can do, unless you have recourse to the bungling exception to your sixth rule (p. 14), because there is an ugly repetition of the definite article before the second noun.

I think,

may say of *all* the later fathers and schoolmen, that they are not very 'scrupulous about the soundness 'of their argument,' provided it be specious, suitable to their purpose, and the conclusion orthodox; and that they will boldly convert a passage to their advantage, even where they may not be ignorant that it will hardly admit of their interpretation. Even Jerome, who was one of the most learned of them, and whom the compiler considers as being 'himself an host' (p. 24), would not scruple to violate all grammar, and to write what he avowed to be barbarous and corrupt, in order to support the divinity of Jesus.* And there is little doubt,

I think, Sir, that you and Ambrose must have a coalition. His must be the rule, and your's the limitation. He boasts that by his device he has slain the Sabellians, and thrust out the Jews; and you seem to have no doubt of silencing the Socinians, and sending the Mahometans to the bottomless pit, by your's. If you coalesce, neither heretic nor infidel can stand before you. That you may know what a charming ally you will have, do but hear how *clearly* he explains the mystery of three persons in one nature, when he, or somebody for him, in the treatise De dignitate conditionis humanæ (p. 612 of the Appendix to vol. ii. of Benedictine edit. of his works), tells you that the second and third persons are from the first, *ex ipso sunt, quia non a se; et in ipso quia non separata; et ipsum ipsa quod ipse; et ipsum ipse quod ipsa; et non ipsum ipsa qui ipse; et non ipsa ipse quæ ipsa:* which Bishop Bull pronounces to be *brevis et arguta oratio!* (Defens. Fid. Nicænæ, p. 289. fol. 1703.)

* In his explanation of the 45th Psalm, addressed to the virgin Principia, he contends, that the first of the terms *God* in these words; "God, thy God, hath anointed thee," verse 7th, is applied, by the writer, to Jesus in the vocative case, and therefore, says he, nos propter intelligentiam *Dee* posuimus, quod latina lingua non recipit: ne quis perverse putet deum dilecti,

et

that such as would write barbarously, would read and construe in the same way for the same purpose.

et amantissimi, et regis, bis patrem nominari. Hieronymi Oper. vol. ii. p. 687. edit. Benedict.

The language of Gregory Nazianzen, who is reputed an elegant writer, seems to me to savour more of the barbarism of the theologue than of classical purity, when he prays to the trinity *to make the holy ghost a god immediately, if he be not one already*, for otherwise he apprehends that his precious soul would be in danger; since the holy ghost, if not a god, could not communicate that divine influence and saving grace, which he had been taught to expect, and trusted he was to receive at his baptism. Ω τριας, και συγγνωμη τη αποτοια, περι ψυχης γαρ ὁ κινδυνος . . . . . ει μη θεος το πνευμα το ἁγιον, θεωτητω πρωτον, και ὑτω θεωτω με του ὁμοτιμου. Orat. xxiv, page 429. C. vol. i. edit. 1609. And he uses the same verb in other places. The barbarisms of θεος λογος, θεανθρωπος, θεος εκ θεου, &c. abound in all the later fathers. And are these, then, the men who would be backward to strain an ambiguous text of scripture, in order to make it bear testimony to their beloved systems?

I have quoted Gregory's words for the language. But I hope you will not overlook the sentiment and the argument, which are curiosities not easily to be matched. It is evident, however, from his mode of talking here, and also in his 37th oration, which is expressly upon the holy spirit, that the divinity of *this* third of the trinity, was at that time a *novel* doctrine. It is well observed by Taylor, that "the holy ghost was so little "considered at the time of the council of Nice, that some fa-"thers of that assembly would have made no difficulty to give "the superiority or precedence to the virgin Mary, in making "her the third person of the trinity." (Ben Mordecai's Apology, vol. i. p. 191. 8vo. 1784.) He adds, as a further proof of this, that "the objection made to the orthodox was for a long "while, not that they worshipped *three*, but only *two* Gods," (page 192.) And this accords with what we find in the same 37th Orat. of Gregory, page 600, about the *ditheists* and *tritheists*; or, as I think it sounds more melodiously in the latin derivation, the *bideites* and *trideites*.

But your correspondent, at the end of his greek authorities, the long procession of which is terminated by persons of no less consequence and respectability, than Euthymius Zigabenus the monk, armed cap-a-pee in his *panoply* against all heresies, and the renowned Balthasar Corderius, the Jesuit, tells us, that your interpretation of 'this important 'text, the *exegetic history* and *fortunes* of which, he 'has traced through a period of nearly a thousand 'years, was the only one ever preached in all the 'ancient churches,' (p. 89, 90. 97.)

But here he forgets his own quotations, from some of which, as for instance, from Chrysostom's words, in page 80, it evidently appears, that the opposite interpretation had its advocates. And, as if he had now persuaded himself that the ideal picture he formerly gave us, were a real representation of facts, he also forgets that we know nothing of what was preached, but by what we can gather from the works which time, as he says (p. 121), and he might have added, the rage of orthodoxy, has spared. He forgets how much more careful and solicitous his heroes were, to shew their zeal than their charity, by calling down fire, from heaven shall I say? nay, rather by calling it up from hell, that they might vent their fury, first upon the books, and next upon the bodies, of such as ventured to preach an interpretation different from that which their wisdom (a wisdom of quite another cast than that which cometh from above), thought fit to recommend to aweful admiration, undisturbed by impertinent inquiry.

To his greek authorities for your interpretation, your friend has annexed a copious catalogue of latin worthies (pp. 91, 92). Having tired himself with the former, he does not seem to expect that you should wade through all that he has referred to in the latter. But I hope his "ample page, rich with "the spoils of time," will not fail to inspire you with the profoundest reverence for his immense learning and unbounded researches, when you read the venerable names of Lucifer Calaritanus, of Idacius Clarus *alias* Vigilius Tapsensis, of Anastasius Apocrisiarius, of the Concilium, not Forojuliense only, but Francofordiense also, of Peter Lombard, master of the sentences, and of the angelic doctor Thomas Aquinas, and of many more, some with, and some without an *alias* to their names!—But to return to the text.

Were it the intention of a writer to say unequivocally what you would make Paul say in these words, and to deliver his meaning so that it could not be mistaken, he should express himself thus: της δοξης Ιησυ Χριστυ του μεγαλυ ημων και θευ και σωτηρος.

The common version, therefore, of this text is certainly the true one.*

* Most expositors understand this text, as speaking of our Saviour's coming to judge the world. If that be its meaning, then certainly the επιφανια της δοξης, the appearing of the *glory* of the *great God*, can mean no other than that *glory* of his *father*, in which we are told (Matt. xvi. 27. Mark viii. 38.), the son of man shall come.

Wetstein observes, that both the article and the epithet shew that two persons are spoken of in Titus ii. 13; and that the same thing appears also from the next verse, as it is the usage of

Your learned editor, Mr. Burgess, has inserted in a note (p. 23) what he calls 'some very solid rea-'sons,' from Dr. Whitby, for understanding this text as you do. But I must inform you that, *solid* as he thinks these reasons, Dr. Whitby himself did not think them so. For he inserts this text in the second part of his "Last Thoughts" among those "passages of scripture which seem to have been "misunderstood by most modern expositors, and "sometimes also by *himself*." And he says of it (p. 85), "that the *great God*, in Tit. ii. 13. signifies "God the Father, is fully proved by Dr. *Clarke*, in "his comment upon that text."*

of Scripture to distinguish between the λυτρωτης and *God* who sends him, as in Acts vii. 35. 1 John iv. 14; and that it no where talks of *God* giving himself for us. He adds, that Hilary, Erasmus, and Grotius, understand the words *great God*, of the God of Jesus. And here your friend the compiler is very angry with him, for producing these three authorities in his favour, without taking the least notice of that *load* of interpretation against him, which the compiler himself has accumulated from fathers and schoolmen; as if such testimony were of any value, (I was going to say *weight*; but I fancy we have all *felt* the weight of it by this time,) against the sentiments of such men as Erasmus and Grotius, either of whom are worth a hundred of your Thomas Aquinases, Peter Lombards, and the rest of that "sordidum scriptorum genus, Sententiariorum, Summula-"riorum, Fasciculariorum, Specullariorum, et ὁ Deum immor-"talem, quorum vel recordatio nauseam moveat generosis ac "bene natis ingeniis."—ERASMUS's *Pref. to his Notes on Jerome's Catalogue of Ecclesiast. Writers.*

* Dr. Whitby, in consequence of longer study, and more careful inquiry into the meaning of scripture, changed some of his opinions materially. As Archbishop Newcome has well observed (Appendix to his Translation of the New Testament),

Εν δικαιοσυνη του θεου ημων και σωτηρος Ιησου Χριστου.

2 Pet. i. 1.

In this text the position of the pronoun ημων shews your version to be a forced translation. The situation in which it here stands is not its *natural* place, if the writer had intended to *compel* the reader to understand his words in your sense. You maintain that all your texts are so strictly worded, that they *cannot* bear any other meaning than that which you have given them. But no author, wishing for this strictness, and knowing how to obtain it, would have placed ημων after θεου, if he had meaned either that it was to be understood by ellipsis after σωτηρος, or that it was to be transposed so as to follow σωτηρος in construction. And one or other of these modes you must adopt before you can make out your version.

If you follow the reading of those editions which repeat ημων after σωτηρος, your version will not do; because such repetition points out the diversity of persons much more distinctly than any repetition of the article before σωτηρος would do in the way you

these "Last Thoughts," published by the Doctor's express order, and containing corrections of several passages in his "Commentary on the New Testament," should be inserted in the next edition of that work. Your editor, Mr. Burgess, refers to that "Commentary" in support of the Athanasian doctrine of the trinity: but in his "Last Thoughts," the Doctor, after inquiring particularly into the subject, says: "*In fine, this doctrine "seems to burlesque the holy scriptures, or to give them an uncouth and "absurd sense, from the beginning of the gospel, to the end of the "epistles.*" (p. 51.) And this he confirms by selecting several instances.

mention

mention in your sixth rule. This you are so well aware of, as appears plainly from what you say in page 19, that you are forced to contend for a transposition of the proper name *Jesus Christ*. And in this transposition we have another *accommodation* that convicts your version of being forced and unnatural.

If ἡμων were to be omitted after θεϑ, and were to be found only after σωτηρος, the reading would be something more in your favour. But even thus it would not quite do for you, because the *first* and most *natural* way of construing would be to confine it to the noun to which it was immediately subjoined; as I have before observed in my remarks upon Tit. ii. 13, to which I refer you.

You tell us (p. 45), that Wicliff, Coverdale, Matthew, Cranmer, the translators of the bishops', of the geneva, and of the rhemish bibles, Doddridge, Wesley, Scattergood, and Purver, all translate this text as you do, which you say is 'altogether a noble 'testimony of both ancient and modern times against 'the Socinian impiety.' Now even Wicliff, by much the oldest of these translators, has no pretensions whatever to antiquity, as far as respects any thing of this sort: for he was not born till the fourteenth century, when corruption was completely established over the whole christian world. He lived in those *latter times* when men, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils, had universally departed from the faith. (1 Tim. iv. 1.) And as to modern times, all that your observation holds up to view is this, that those whom James I. employed to make his version, knew more about greek than you, or

any of the above mentioned translators. What there is *noble* in such a testimony, I am at a loss to discover. It is clear, however, that our present translators *rejected* that rendering which you have adopted, from their being persuaded that it was not the true sense of the original. For we know that they were ordered to consult the former translations, and that they did, as they have told us in their very title-page, diligently compare and revise them; and moreover, that they were extremely well affected towards the doctrine of our Saviour's divinity, and zealous to introduce it upon all occasions where they thought there was the least authority or countenance for it in the original.

On this text the compiler has only one reference to produce, and of that all he can say is: 'I wish 'that it afforded us something more determinate.'

The strict and proper way of expressing the sense you would give to Peter's words, so as to have them inevitably thus understood, is this: εν δικαιοσυνη Ιησυ Χριστυ του ημων και Θευ και σωτηρος.

From what has been said it appears, that our common version is much better, more easy, and more natural than yours. But there is a better and more obvious still, which I take to be the true one, which is, literally, this: "*in the righteousness of the* "*God of us, and Saviour of Jesus Christ.*"

Τον μονον δεσποτην Θεον και κυριον ημων Ιησουν Χριστον.
Jude 4.

In this your last text we have Θεος without the article. The first and most obvious acceptation in which

which the word presents itself, is that of a proper name. And there is nothing to prevent us from taking it in that its primary sense. (See what I have said upon Tit. ii. 13.) The sentence, therefore, contains two proper names, of which the first θεον is attended by a descriptive substantive δεσποτην, with its epithet, and the second Ιησουν, in like manner by a descriptive substantive κυριον, with its epithet. How can a sentence more *naturally* and *obviously* divide itself into two parts, or more clearly and distinctly point out, by its structure, two different persons?

You, however, choose to understand the three nouns δεσποτην, θεον, and κυριον, which are of very different kinds, as if they were all of the same kind. And you make each a personal description of the proper name Ιησουν: and then you supply by ellipsis, after each of the two first, the pronoun ἡμων, which is annexed to the last only, and which, by that situation, should *naturally*, unless something urges to the contrary, be joined in construction with that last alone. (See what I have before said upon the similar situation of ἡμων, in Tit. ii. 13.)

This mode of construing the text is just as natural as if, in the following passage, Τυχικος ὁ ἀγαπητος ἀδελφος και πιστος διακονος (Ephes. vi. 21.), you were to understand the three nouns of different kinds ἀγαπητος, ἀδελφος, and πιστος, as being all of the same kind, viz. as so many personal descriptions of the proper name *Tychichus*, and then were to supply by ellipsis, after each of the two first, the word διακονος, which is annexed to the last only; and thus to consider Paul as calling Tychichus a *beloved minister*, a *brother*

minister, and a *faithful minister*. Nay, it is little better than it would be in the Alexandrian reading of 1 John v. 20. ὁ αληθινος θεος και ζωη αιωνιος, to make the three first nouns of the same kind, and by the help of an ellipsis, to join αιωνιος in construction to every one of them.

Upon this text the compiler furnishes only two greek comments in your favour; and of these the first is not without ambiguity. But if he could furnish two hundred, all clearly explaining the words as you do, such partial testimony, for the reasons I have before given, would have no influence to persuade a fair and proper judge of these things that your interpretation is the true one.

To express that interpretation accurately, in a way that the reader must *necessarily* so understand the words, the text should have stood thus. και Ιησουν Χριστον τον μονον ἡμων και δεσποτην, και θεον, και κυριον αρνουμενοι.

The common established version of the words, therefore, is the true version.

For the benefit of your editor, Mr. Burgess, I must observe, that Dr. *Whitby* understands this text of two persons; and in his "Last Thoughts," page 58, produces it, among several others, for the purpose of shewing that, "it is the highest absurdity to "say that the father and the son have both one and "the same numerical essence, that being in effect to "make Jude say in this text, denying the only lord "God, and the same only lord God." (pages 55, and 58.)

Wetstein also, in his Greek Testament, has a long note upon this passage, which is well worth your reading.

reading. He says your interpretation is, valde infirma, cum articulus non referatur ad voces θεον και κυριον, sed ad vocem δεσποτην. And of the whole passage he says: De duabus distinctis personis intelligi potest, &, si juxta analogiam scripturæ & aliorum scriptorum interpretari volumus, intelligi debet. Nam scriptura Deum patrem millies θεον vocat, Christum bis vel ter.* He then observes, as others had done

* Dr. Clarke, who has very carefully collected *all* the texts which have been alledged to support *every* part of the doctrine of the trinity, reckons up *thirteen* passages of scripture, in which it has been said, that the title of *God* is given to Jesus. But I think there is not more than *one* out of the whole, in which that appellation appears to be fairly and fully, not in the way of inference, but directly, given to Jesus. I am not now speaking of the sense in which that term is applied to him, but of its being applied to him at all, in *any* sense, or way, whatsoever. It is *never* applied to him metaphysically, to describe his *nature* and essence: for the sacred writers had no more idea, in any part of their writings, of saying any thing about the nature of Jesus, than they had of saying any thing about their own natures. But, even in a metaphorical sense, the title of *God* is, I think, not given to Jesus in the scriptures more than *once*. It is given oftener, and with more solemnity, to Moses. See Exod. iv. 16. vii. 1. and Deut. xxix. 6. Your editor, Mr. Burgess, in his table from Dr. Whitby, has inserted one or two texts not enumerated in Dr. Clarke's *thirteen*, as instances of this title being given to Jesus. But they are merely *inferences*, not *direct* appropriations of the appellation. And of *inferences* and *deductions* there is no end. The *learned* Postellus *inferred*, that there were 11,000 proofs of the trinity in the Old Testament alone, when interpreted as it ought to be, *etymologico-mystico-caballistically*.

Your *learned* editor is rather apt to give a loose to his *fancy*. I wish he would make more use of his *judgment*. He would not then, perhaps, flourish away quite so much, with his 'plain

 'arguments,'

before him, and among them Dr. Whitby (on 2 Pet. ii. 1.),* that δεσπότης is a term which the scriptures apply not to Christ, but to his Father; and that μονος joined to other epithets, is appropriated κατ' εξοχην, to the God of Jesus, not only by the scriptures, but by Josephus and other writers. These assertions he confirms by several examples, and concludes with observing that, in your way of construing the words, there would be a woful anticlimax, or rather, *up-and-down*, shall I call it? Denique cum usus loquendi discrimen faciat inter δεσπότην, θεον et κυριον, idem usus videtur requirere, ubi tria ista nomina in unum

'arguments,' 'decisive applications,' and 'ample confirma-'tions,' nor talk quite so confidently of the *perfect establishment* 'of the divinity of Christ' by your rule, in a way that 'no im-'partial reader can doubt, *who is at all acquainted with the original* '*language of the New Testament.*'

Those readers who feel disposed to give Mr. Burgess so much credit for his greek literature, as to take his *ipse dixit*, about the original language of the New Testament, upon trust, will do well to recollect the judicious observation of the celebrated Selden, in his Table-talk:—that "No man is the *wiser* for his "learning."

* "The comment of the learned Dr. Whitby upon this place "[of St. Peter] is very remarkable," says Dr. Clarke, who himself has many good observations on the passage of Jude, which we are considering. He has well remarked, that the words *God* and *Jesus Christ* in this text, are amply illustrated, and decisively fixed in their meaning, by the words *father* and *son*, to which they exactly correspond, in the parallel place of 1 John ii. 22 and 23. He also confirms the common version of the text, by appealing to Clemens Romanus, Athanasius, and Basil. See his Scripture Doctrine, No. 411, and his Reply to Nelson, p. 109, &c.

eundemque

eundemque conferuntur, ut, quod præcipuum est, ponatur ultimo loco, quod medium medio. Scripsisset ergo Judas, si hoc voluisset, τον κυριον, και μονον δεσποτην, και θεον, quod etiam Complutenses editores sensisse videntur.

Abp. Newcome, the last translator of the New Testament into english, adopts that reading which omits the word θεον in this text, and then renders the passage: "denying the only Sovereign, and our "Lord Jesus Christ." In all the rest of the foregoing texts, he adheres to the common authorised version.

LETTER V.

Ostendant nobis Patrum patroni unicam Scripturæ pericopen, quæ, alias obscura cum esset, ab iis sit lucem mutuata.
WHITBY, Dissertat. de Scriptur. Interpretat.

Ut silvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt; ita verborum vetus interit ætas.
HOR. Art. Poet. 60.

Undique collatis membris, ———
——————— unus et alter
Assuitur pannus. ———
Ibid. 3 et 15.

SIR,

TO your mistranslated texts, all of which I have examined in the preceding letter, your correspondent has added one of his own. Having hitherto toiled, though with little success, to confirm your sentiments, he now takes upon him to controvert one of your rules, and your interpretation of a passage dependent upon it.

The form of expression Ιακωβος θεϋ και κυριϋ Ιησϋ Χριϛϋ δουλος (James i. 1.), which you affirm (page 12) to be regularly descriptive of two persons,* the compiler considers as being in itself ambiguous, and such as may be used indiscriminately of either one or two: though he thinks that James, in this par-

* I observe, however, that by an *erratum*, page 80, you, or your editor, would cancel this text from your rule: whether in consequence of what the compiler has said, or from any other motive, you know best.

ticular

ticular place, using it of one person only, means to call Jesus *God* as well as *lord*.

To persuade us of this, he goes to work in his old way of quotation from the fathers; as if they, truly, were the best sources of interpretation.* I say of interpretation, because it is evident he does not now appeal to them merely as being the best judges of their own language: for he allows that the form of words is here ambiguous; and indeed it appears to be so from the fathers themselves, some of them, with Cyril,† understanding it of one person, while others, with Oecumenius, understand it of two. And here we see the use which your correspondent would make of his fathers; they are to be our expounders of scripture!

I agree, however, with your friend in thinking that James in this text meaned to call himself the

* In his title-page he calls them the best authors; but, as a body, they are the very worst he could pick out of the whole republic of letters, not only for general use, but for that particular purpose to which he has applied them. However, when he calls them the best, he has had the modesty, not to say so in his own words and language; but has wrapt it up decently in a little bit of Ciceronian latin.

† From this passage of Cyril (No. 4, p. 118), we see something of the *confidence* with which a true son of the church speaks of his own explanation of a text confessedly ambiguous. And consequently we see what stress is to be laid upon the argument on which your correspondent grounds his whole book, viz. that because a mob of such gentlemen, in support of what Mr. Locke (Essay on Understand. b. iv. c. iii. §. 20.), admirably calls "the well-endowed opinions in fashion," unite in explaining certain texts in one particular way, therefore there can be nothing ambiguous in the meaning of them.

servant

servant of one person only. But I take that person to be, not Jesus Christ, but the God and father of Jesus Christ. My reasons for thus understanding the text are as follows.

The most obvious way of explaining θεὸς without the article, is to consider it as a proper name. And hence I think καὶ is not here used in the sense of *and;* for if it were, the other proper name *Jesus Christ*, would either have the article prefixed to its descriptive epithet κυριος, just as in english we should say (as indeed our translators have actually said in their version of this passage; whether by so doing they have made that version quite accurate and exact is another question) "God and *the* lord Jesus "Christ," not God and lord Jesus Christ;" or else that epithet would be altogether omitted. I therefore take καὶ to be exegetical. In which case it may be rendered by *even*, by *who is*, &c. or it may be omitted in the translation. James's meaning then seems to be this: "*James, a servant of God, who is* "*lord of Jesus Christ.*"

Paul, in the addresses prefixed to his epistles, frequently reminds those to whom he writes, that God was lord of Jesus Christ. And it was quite in point, and much to the purpose, which both he and James aimed at, and laboured in the body of their epistles, to do so. It was an observation of like import to that explained before, when Paul tells the Ephesians (v. 5.) that the kingdom of Christ was the kingdom of God. It was reminding their readers that the great object of Jesus was the will of God, and goodness; and not the inventions of men, displayed in rites

rites and ceremonies, and worldly distinctions of sects and parties, and in learned controversies in attack or defence of them. And the inference was, that their readers should lay aside their disputes about such things, and, instead of valuing themselves, or despising their opponents, for being jewish or gentile believers, should, on all sides, shew themselves the true disciples of Jesus, by following his example in serving God, and cordially embracing the good of all parties, in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace. A point which it is the main business of all the epistles of the New Testament, both general and particular, to recommend, enforce, and explain at large.

Your correspondent, having now exhausted all his rich treasures of interpretation, both such as are for you and such as are not against you, latin as well as greek, spurious as well as genuine, closes his work with no less than ten pages (pages 122-131) of what he calls 'forms of expression closely resembling' that contained in your mistranslated texts; that is, with instances, still taken from his beloved fathers, of nouns, articles, and conjunctions, circumstanced according to the description given in your rule: all of which, he contends, are used in that sense which you affirm such forms must necessarily bear, and are therefore so many confirmations of your theory.

But here again we have nothing but ideal painting. There is not *one* of his examples, where the two nouns clearly and indisputably relate to one and the same person, but what has something else, besides the bare form of words, to point out and ascertain

certain that relation. In every one of these examples, therefore, it is the context, and not your rule, that fixes the sense, and refers the nouns to one person.

If one of the two nouns be θεος, either the phrase is limited in some such way as I have before described, when speaking of the examples which your friend has collected in pages 57—61, of his work; (see p. 59), or θεος is accompanied with some word, such as ἐναν θρωπησις, γενεθλια, σωμα, αἱμα, &c. which cannot possibly be predicated of the God of nature, but can only be applied to an artificial, factitious God, a character theologically supposed to belong to the other noun. Or if both the nouns be unequivocally descriptive epithets (which is not the case if θεος be one of them), then one of them is left destitute of any thing to which it can be referred (and as an epithet it *must* be referred to something), except the word to which the other serves as an epithet. Or there is some other subsidiary circumstance to bind up the two nouns into one description, exclusive of any thing contained in the description given in your rule.

Though therefore the form of expression, as to the mere disposition of nouns, articles, and copulatives, is, in all these examples, the same as your's; yet, as to the most material circumstance of its independence upon any thing extrinsic, and foreign to itself, to fix and ascertain its meaning, it is in no one instance similar, and similarly situated, to your's.

Indeed, I question whether any example could be exactly

exactly parallel to your texts, unless one of the nouns contained in it were θεος. At least, I think no example could be so, where both the nouns were unquestionably descriptive epithets; because, in that case, each of the nouns would call for something to be united with it. But θεος, on the contrary (which makes one of the nouns in all your mistranslated texts), is of such a nature, especially as used in the Bible, that it not only *may* be construed without being united as an epithet to some other noun, but in its primary sense, indicates an absolute, independent, proper name.

From these examples, therefore, you can derive no support, either to your rule, or to your correction of the common version of the New Testament; because your position is, that the form of expression *in itself*, without any assistance from context or connection, necessarily determines the identity: but the compiler has here given you no instance of a form so circumstanced, or so unassisted.

Your correspondent (in a note, p. 61.), claims 'the weight of the passages' here cited, for the interpretations given of 2 Thess. i. 12, and of 1 Tim. v. 21, in his third and fourth letters; and *vice versa*, the weight of his quotations in those letters, for his interpretations in this. He is welcome to the whole of it, were it twice as *ponderous* as it is. I assure you, Sir, I am so glad to get rid of it, now that I have got to the end of his book, that I care not what becomes of either book or burthen, so that I have no more to do with them. And I suspect that, if you

you have 'waded through' the whole of it, the case is pretty much the same with yourself.

But, before I take my leave of the compiler and his compilations, I will give him a word or two of advice about those same fathers, whom he quotes with such eagerness, and seems to admire with an ardour and enthusiasm that betray all the symptoms of a new and a recent acquaintance.

And first I must tell him, that, when estimated by the lump, as he values them, they are the worst of all authors: That to consult them for interpretations of scripture, is the worst use that can be made of them :* That different groups, or classes, of them, differ most widely in point of merit, and are entitled to very different degrees of regard: That the *apostolic* fathers, with whom he has had little to do, and who, indeed, were little fitted for his purpose; for though they knew more of christianity than any of their successors, they knew nothing of theology, are all highly valuable; but have never yet, since the revival of learning, had justice done to them, because they are read, and indeed so are the scriptures themselves, with preconceived opinions, by all parties, who all judge, more or less, both of their phraseology and of their sentiments, by a standard to which the writers themselves were utter strangers; explaining their words by a vocabulary, and their assertions by a system, which we are taught from infancy to apply to all ecclesiastical writers

* See this proved at large, in Whitby's "Dissertatio de S. "Scripturarum interpretatione secundum patrum commenta-"rios." 8vo. Lond. 1714.

whatever,

whatever, though they belong only to the latest; the earliest never talking according to the one, nor reasoning according to the other: That of those fathers who are called *primitive*, by which term is generally meant such as lived and wrote before christianity suffered the worst of its persecutions, an establishment, many are also very valuable; but, like their predecessors, lose much of their value by being viewed, by readers of every description, through a glass, darkly:* That of these primitive fathers, the most valuable are those which have furnished your correspondent with the fewest extracts: That of the rest, who lived after the kingdom of Christ became the kingdom of this world, and who are sometimes stiled simply *fathers*, without the addition of any epithet, the generality are good for little or nothing, except as they furnish various readings of scripture, or materials for ecclesiastical history; and even for these purposes, he that would use them aright, must use them with great prudence and caution: That if there *be* any other good in them, it lies buried like Gratiano's two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff, and must be extracted, not by going to in-

* Non opus habebant Lombardis magistris, Thomistis pædagogis, Scotistis mystagogis, antiqui illi patres, qui simplicitate fidei contenti, nimis ingeniosam hanc theologiam, in qua errores alii ex aliis exorti operosius docentur, felicissime ignorabant. Quibus, si modo reviviscerent, nova grammatica addiscenda, Onomastica theologica, Lexica, seu dictionaria pervolvenda forent, ut theologos, qui ne ipsi quidem quæ loquuntur norunt, intelligerent. Nova logica forent perscrutanda, ex quibus inusitatas propositiones, ubi disparatum de disparato prædicatur, haurirent.—SANDIUS. *Pref. in Nucleum Hist. Ecclesiasticæ.* 1676.

dexes for this text or that topic, and then dealing out by wholesale all that is to be found upon the one or the other; but by reading them in regular connection, with great patience, care, and discrimination, sifting as we go along the tolerable from the intolerable, the genuine from the spurious, the text from the comment; for all these lie huddled together in one wild mass of confusion, over which the reader must be content to travel as over an immense desert, for days together, without seeing a single thing worth picking up: And that as to the *schoolmen*, I am inclined to think that *they* would have had *weight* enough with the elder Pliny, if he had lived in their days, to have made him revoke his maxim, Nullum esse librum tam malum, ut non aliqua parte prodesset, (Plin. Epist. lib. 3. epist. 5.); and that, with regard to *them*, the compiler had better take Bishop Warburton's advice, and, "e'en let them "stay, where most of them already are, with the "grocers." (Introduct. to Julian.)

Next I must tell your friend that, in reading these authors, it is absolutely necessary to attend to a circumstance which seems to have been greatly neglected by himself, as it has been by others before him; and that is, that the fathers of different periods use the same words in very different senses, and, on the contrary, different words in the same sense; as, for instance, the words χριστος, λογος, ευαγγελιον, πιστις, χαρις, εκκλησια, φυσις, ουσια, ὑποστασις, and a great many others.*

* Une chose que l'on neglige extrêmement, et qui est de la "dernière conséquence, pour entendre bien ce qu'on lit, c'est "qu'il

Had he attended to this as he ought to have done, the compiler would have seen, in some passages

" qu'il pourroit être arrivé, qu'encore que l'on se soit toujours " servi de certains termes parmi les chrétiens, on se fût eloigné " insensiblement des idées que ceux qui s'en sont les premiers " servis y avoient attachées, et que les mots demeurant les " mêmes, le sens qu'on leur a attribué eût souffert diverses ré- " volutions." Le Clerc Bibliothéque Universelle, tom. x. p. 338. " Lorsque l'on voit sur un théâtre sortir des acteurs de derrière " un rideau, avec de certains habits, peut-on en conclurre que " toutes les fois que l'on verra ces mêmes habits, ce seront les " mêmes acteurs qui en seront habillés? Il en est de même des " pensées et des paroles dont elles sont revetuës. Il est dange- " reux que des pensées bien différentes n'aient souvent frappé " nos oreilles, ou nos yeux revetuës des mêmes sons, ou des " mêmes caractères." Ibid. p. 334. " *Grotius* a dit fort judicieuse- " ment; *mihi constat Patres in explicatione harum rerum plurimum* " *dissensisse; etiamsi vocum quarundam sono inter se conveniant.*"— Ibid. p. 335. Grotius is speaking of the trinity, in an epistle to his brother, No. 152, page 798, col. 1. edit. Amst. 1687. fol.— See also Dallæus de usu Patrum, part i. cap. v. pag. 149. edit. 1656.; and Clerici Artis Criticæ, part ii. sect. 1. cap. xv. *De Sectarum sermone;* where it is shewn, not only that different sects use the same words in different senses, but that the same sects, or bodies of men, continue to use the same words, and forms of expression, though they have totally changed their opinions. The great Lord Chatham gave a striking instance of the truth of this last observation, when, speaking of our ecclesiastical establishment, he said; we had *a popish liturgy, calvinistical articles, and an arminian clergy.*

Multa quidem vocabula, nobis et priscis patribus communia, retinemus; sed sensu, ab eo quem tunc habebant, non minus alieno, quam nostra tempora a primis post christum seculis remota sunt. Cardinal Bona de rebus liturgicis, lib. i. cap. xviii. p. 246, as quoted by Jo. Geor. Walch, in his Bibliotheca Patristica, pag. 553, 8vo. Jenæ 1770, who, in the same page, enumerates several words which have changed their meanings.

which he has quoted as similar, a difference, in consequence of this change in the meaning of words, as material and important to your question, as if, to borrow a supposition of his own (page 3), 'a change 'in later times had taken place in the use of the ar-'ticle.' You yourself will admit, that it makes a wide difference in the application of a testimony to your rule, or to some of your interpretations, whether the author of that testimony understood the word χριστος, for instance, as a proper name, in which way it was as generally understood and used by the later fathers, as it is by us at this day, or whether he understood it as a descriptive personal noun, in which way the earlier fathers, as well as the sacred writers, generally understood and used it. Had your friend attended a little more to this change in the meaning of words, I am of opinion that he would not have treated you with such a profusion of his elegant extracts.

To a similar want of attention in others, most ecclesiastical establishments are indebted for so many absurdities as have found their way into them. In our own, for instance, there are gross contradictions which may be traced to this cause. Thus our eighth article requires all who subscribe the thirty-nine, thoroughly to receive and believe, without at all adverting to any change or variation in the meaning of words, both the Nicene and the Athanasian creeds.* But these creeds, if the same word means

* It is now more than a hundred years since *Archbishop Tillotson* "*wished*," that the church "*were well rid of*" this latter creed. But the Oxford press still continues to send forth sermons

the same thing, directly contradict each other, upon the very face of them.

To the Nicene creed (I do not mean that inserted in our communion service; for that is not the Nicene creed, though so called in our prayer-books: but I mean the creed really drawn up and published by the council of Nice, which also our eighth article must be understood to mean, if words have any definite meaning) is annexed a damnatory clause. The Athanasian, which has vastly the advantage over its predecessor in respect to the quantity, as well as the quality, both of this and every other sort of sound divinity, boasts, as is well known, of three damnatory clauses. The Nicene, in its clause, damns all who say that the father is of another *hypostasis* from the son; while, on the other hand, the Athanasian creed maintains, that there is *one hypostasis* (person) of the father, and *another* of the son, and that whoever does not *thus* think, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

This contradiction, of which I have here given the substance, you may see more at large in an author, the whole of whose book is well worth your perusal, and who, after the proofs of the fact, concludes with the following just reflection. "Thus "taking the plain literal sense of the two creeds and

mons and charges, of Bishops and Archdeacons, vindicating its curses, and explaining its incomprehensibility! See Tillotson's Letter to Burnet, Oct. 23, 1694, in Birch's Life of Tillotson; and Bishop Cleaver's Sermon, Nov. 16, 1800, and Archdeacon Dodwell's Three Charges, 1801.

" the article, an ignorant and honest subscriber is " brought into a very critical and dangerous situa- " tion. By the Nicene creed he is sentenced to ever- " lasting damnation if he believes the doctrine of " the Athanasian creed—by the Athanasian creed he " is anathematized, if he believes the doctrine of the " Nicene creed—to render his damnation inevitable, " he is required by the Church of England to believe " them *both*, upon pain of being devoted to the devil " for his rejection of *either*—and by subscribing *ex* " *animo* to the truth of the article, he sets his own " *Amen* to the complicated curse. So that let him " believe what he will upon this point, it may truly " be said, if he is saved at all, it must be so as by " fire."*

Another contradiction from the same cause we have in the choice which our church has made for its standard of orthodoxy, and its test of heresy; which, as Blackstone (b. iv. ch. 4.) will inform you, is (by stat. 1 Eliz. c. 1.) the decisions of the first four general councils. Of these the third, held at Ephesus, condemned the doctrine of Nestorius, who maintained that there were two persons (ὑποστασεις) in Jesus: and the fourth, held at Chalcedon, condemned that of Eutyches, who maintained that there was but one nature (φυσις), in Jesus.

But now whoever reads the greek fathers with care will find, that the former of these two heresiarchs used the word ὑποστασις in the same sense in

* Wilton's Review of some of the Articles of the Church of England, p. 85, 8vo. 1774.

which

which the latter used the word φυσις,* and that their doctrines were diametrically opposite to each other. And so they were understood to be by the latter

* There seems to have been little or no variation in the meaning of φυσις and ουσια, which were used as equivalent to each other, for some time both before and after the period we are speaking of. Thus Origen has, ἡ της ψυχης φυσις και ουσια. Com. in Matt. vol. i. p. 484. edit. Huet. 1668. And in some definitions published with the works of Athanasius, but written, evidently, long after that father's days, we read, τι λεγεται φυσις; φυσις ειρηται δια το συμφυκεναι και ειναι, ὡσπερ και ουσια ὡς ουσα και εν αληθεια γνωριζομενη . . . . . φυσις και ουσια και γενος και μορφη ἐν εστι. Athanas. Op. vol. iii. p. 244, §. viii. edit. Bened. 1698. The word ὑποστασις underwent three variations. It was first used as equivalent to either of the former words, to denote *nature* or *essence*. Thus Athanasius: ἡ δε ὑποστασις ουσια εστι και ουδεν αλλο σημαινομενον εχει, ἡ αὐτο το ον. Epist. ad. Afros. Oper. vol. i. p. 894, b. edit. Bened. And again, αλλ' ὑποστασιν μεν λεγομεν, ἡγουμενοι ταυτον ειναι ειπειν ὑποστασιν και ουσιαν· μιαν δε φρονουμεν διὰ το εκ της ουσιας του πατρος ειναι τον υἱον, και δια την ταυτοτητα της φυσεως· μιαν γαρ θεοτητα και μιαν ειναι την ταυτης φυσιν πιστευομεν. Epist. ad Antiochenses, vol. i. p. 773. f. And, in a spurious disputation between him and Arius, Athanasius asks, τι ποτε αρα εστιν ἡ ουσια, to which Arius answers παν ει τι εστιν εν ὑποστασει τουτο ουσια τυγχανει. And this answer Athanasius sanctions and approves, by rejoining, ορθως εφης. Vol. iii. p. 220. §. 29. Afterwards it was used in the sense of *person*, to denote an *individual*; as when we say, John is one *person*, and Peter another *person*. In this way Basil uses it, and he seems to have been one of the first writers who so used it. See Epist. 38. vol. iii. p. 115. edit. Bened. Lastly it was used, as many other ecclesiastical words are, without any meaning at all, to denote nobody knows what; just as english trinitarians use the word *person*, in a way which they have none of them ever been able to explain.

Now Nestorius could only use the word ὑποστασις, in the first of these senses, as equivalent to φυσις, or ουσια. For, in the second sense, neither he, nor any one else, could ever dream of apply-

council, which annulled the acts of the former (Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 78, edit. 1782, 8vo.); and were also declared to be by the Emperor Justinian, some time after (an. 536), in a constitution of his, preserved in Labbe's Councils (vol. v. p. 265. C.). The church of Rome, however, holding all general councils to be infallible, was determined to embrace the decrees of all, however contradictory to one another; and in conformity with this resolution, coined the unintelligible tenet of *two natures in one person*, upon which, when the chief silversmith and his craftsmen had stamped the *hall-mark* of orthodoxy, it passed current through christendom, and was adopted, as by many churches, without examination, so by our own, which, in this, as well as in some other respects, is the church of Rome still, in spite of the Reformation.

ing the word to Jesus, so as make him two *persons*, meaning thereby two *individuals*. And the third sense, or rather nonsense, did not come into vogue till long after Nestorius's death.

Upon this third way of using words without any meaning at all, there are some good observations in Le Clerc's Bibliotheque Universelle, vol. x. p. 339–346. Among other things, he observes: "On n'a qu'à ouvrir un philosophe, ou un theologien "scholastique, et l'on verra peut-être avec étonnement, que des "personnes célèbres ont passé leur vie à dire, comme des perro-"quets, je ne sçai quels sons, qu'ils entendoient aussi peu que "ces oiseaux entendent les paroles qu'ils prononcent," p. 344. See also his Ars Critica, Part ii. sect. i. cap. ix. For an account of the *struggles* of the later trinitarians to explain the word *person* as *they* use it, see Taylor's Apol. of Ben Mordecai, vol. i. p. 154. And for the second way of using ὑποστασις, see ibid. p. 194.—Dr. Wallis says, the three persons are three *somewhats*; as Peter Lombard had before said the whole trinity was a *somewhat, quædam summa res*. Ibid. p. 68.

And

And thus while some fancy, and some pretend to fancy, that there is sense of one kind or another, tho' nobody presumes to say what sense, as well as sound, in the words, "the more part" continue to roar aloud, great is the mystery of *two natures in one person*, and being full of wrath, are ready to knock down as "blasphemers and robbers of churches," all who venture to suggest that, when the terms are traced to their origin, the affirmation may perhaps turn out to be, in plain english, no more than this; that there are two natures (or persons) in one nature (or person)! A mystery so sublime and illustrious, that I am surprised it has been suffered to remain so long undistinguished among the vulgar herd of commoners without a name; and would therefore recommend, that it be immediately called up to the upper house of the ecclesiastical realm, by the title of the *Duinity*, to which no *impartial* trinitarian, whether lutheran or calvinist, can, I think, consistently with a proper respect for their masters, object, on the score of its sounding *frigidly*, or of its being a *barbarous* term of *human invention*.*

* "Vocula hæc (Trinitas) nusquam in divinis scripturis repe-
" ritur, cæterum humanitus tantummodo inventa est, unde om-
" nino etiam frigide sonat, ac multo præstabilius foret si Deus
" potius quam trinitas diceretur." Lutheri enarratio, seu postilla, in Evangelium ad Dominicam Pentecostes feriis proximam, quæ trinitatis appellatur. Vid. Enarrationum suarum, edit. fol. Basil. 1546. p. 282.

"Precatio vulgo trita est, sancta trinitas unus deus miserere
" nostri. Mihi non placet, ac omnino barbariem sapit." Calvini Epistola qua fidem Admonitionis ab eo nuper editæ apud Polonos confirmat. Operum ejus, vol. vii. p. 687, col. 1. edit. 1612. Genev.

In

To the same cause, a change in the meaning of words, is owing much of that obscurity which many persons find in reading the scriptures. The reader

In the Unitarian tracts, published in quarto, 1691, &c. the trinitarians are divided into three classes, *Nominals*, *Realists*, and *Ignoramuses*. The first class comprehends those who explain the doctrine so as to explain it all away. Their trinity is a mere trinity of *names*. The second comprehends those who explain it so as to make *really* three Gods. Their trinity is real *tritheism*. The last includes those who refuse to explain it at all. These, if they are asked what they mean by that trinity which they say they believe, make no other reply but *mum*, or *mystery*. See also Taylor's Ben Mordecai's Apology, vol. i. p. 68–74. edit. 8vo. 1784.

Luther ranks with the last class. He observes, that the world thinks the trinitarians mad; (omnes vesanos judicat qui hoc docent et credunt), and that Turks and Jews deride them. Verum si hæc sapientia esset, quis non pronunciare et cogitare cum Turcis et Judæis posset; tantum unus Deus est, Christus non est Deus? . . . . . Si Turcæ et Judæi nos irrident, quasi nos tres fratres in cælo collocemus, qui pariter imperium habeant; id nos quoque facere possemus, si scripturam omittere vellemus. . . . . Quod si *absurditas* in articulo negotium facit, quid hoc mea refert? Nam si in hac re ratiocinari liceret, non male id equidem facturus essem, et melius fortasse quam ullus Turca vel Judæus. Verum hoc divini beneficii loco accipio, quod de hoc articulo non disputo, utrum verus sit, et cum ratione consentiat. There are many things, he says, which we cannot explain, such as laughing, seeing, sleeping, &c. ubi disputatio sine periculo esset. Verum in hoc articulo periculum conjunctum est. As to understanding the doctrine, he says, we must defer that, till we get into the next world, atque interim nihil disputandum est, verum simpliciter credendum.

He then shews, (for though he would have, like the modern *ignoramuses*, no reasoning *against* the trinity, he has no objection to reasoning of any sort, good or bad, *in its favour*), that the doctrine is *clearly* taught in the Apostle's creed, sets before the

reader

who understands, as most readers do, such words as πιστις, χαρις, &c. in the greek, or as *faith*, *grace*, &c. in the english testament, in their *theological* acceptations, is involved in difficulties and perplexities, from which nothing can extricate him but a return to the *scriptural* meaning of the words; which, with occasional allowance for a few jewish and foreign idioms, is always the common *practical* meaning of all other moral writers of the same language at the same period, and never the metaphysical meaning of squabbling scholastic divines. If a man were to be so drilled in his youth, as thoroughly to imbibe the notion that the "Spectator" were a book of *mysteries*, and that whenever, in reading it, he should meet with the terms, *word*, *spirit*, *grace*, &c. &c. he must

reader God's aweful judgments on those wicked heretics, Cerinthus and Arius, for denying the doctrine, and concludes with this triumphant peroration. Hic est iste articulus de trinitate, primum scriptura, deinde apostolorum certaminibus et sanctorum patrum, ac tandem etiam miraculis contra diabolum et mundum adsertus, et adhuc, Deo favente, adserendus. Id tradi solet hoc die (trinity Sunday), *et Christiani soli sunt, qui hæc absurda credunt.* Sicut Paulus ait (1 Cor. i. 21), quod Deo sic visum fuerit, quod per stultitiam prædicationis salvos facere voluerit credentes. Nam ratio hic certum syllogismum nunquam poterit colligere, quod *tria unum, et unum tria sint;* quod *Deus homo sit;* quod nos cum baptizamur, per sanguinem Christi peccatis abluimur; quod in pane corpus Christi edimus, in vino ejus sanguinem bibimus atque ita remissionem peccatorum consequimur. Omnes isti articuli pro fabulis et stultitia a sapientibus reputantur. Proinde id Paulus etiam sic appellat stultitiam prædicationis, verum qui ea credat, quod is salutem consecuturus sit. Quod nobis præstet Deus pater, &c. Amen.—LUTHER's Sermon on Trinity Sunday, in the vol. of his Postills, p. 285 and 287. Basil. 1546. fol.

always

always understand them to mean, *Jesus*, *holy ghost*, *heavenly influx*, &c. &c., Addison's writings, which are now so perspicuous, would become as dark and unintelligible as many people find the Bible to be. And on the contrary, if a man will but cast away his *theology*, and read the Bible with the same common sense that he reads the "Spectator," or any other book, he will find much of that which before was dark and unintelligible become plain and easy.

Lastly, I must tell your correspondent, that of all the writers of antiquity which have reached our time, there are none which are so much disfigured and obscured by interpolations and corruptions of all sorts, as the fathers:* and that, unless they be read with a constant and vigilant attention to this circumstance, they will be read to little profit or purpose.

I have pointed out, as we went along, some interpolations in your friend's cabinet of curiosities, from which many more might be selected, as for instance from Nos. 24, 31, 51, in his fifth letter, and from

* Daillé, speaking of these foul and numerous corruptions, introduced both by subtracting and adding, asks a question or two, which will appear very pertinent and impressive to those who have read much of the fathers. Unde, says he, Unde alias nobis nata essent in veteribus scriptoribus tot loca hiulca, tot molestæ lacunæ, tot ineptissime assuta, quæ passim inter legendum occurrunt? Unde viles illæ, setosæque, ac tactu ipso horridæ laciniæ, quas in media ipsorum purpura offendimus? Profecto non aliud clamat illa pulsus spiritusque inæqualitas quam in eodem homine, minimo spatio, legendo experimur. DALLÆUS de usu Patrum, part 1. cap. iv. p. 66. edit. 1656.

And these corruptions he attributes to the church as well as to heretics. See part 1. cap. iii. p. 14.

other

other passages, both greek and latin, in various parts of his book. Had he duly considered this prominent feature in the countenance of almost every one of the fathers, he would not probably have been so forward to tell you, that even the heretics give their suffrage in your favour; unless he can suppose that heretics are so much more stupid than other men, that they will not only argue against the point they are maintaining, but will also flatly contradict in one sentence what they have asserted in the preceding.*

* It was upon this ground of contradiction that Rufinus maintained, that Origen had been so terribly corrupted by the heretics. Jerome admitted the mode of arguing, but denied that the contradictions existed. Monsieur Huet, in the second chapter of the second book of his *Origeniana*, has collected so many instances of these contradictions, that, as he observes, (book ii. ch. iii. §. 10), they must have satisfied Jerome himself. For their several arguments, see Rufinus's Apology for Origen, in two pieces published in 5th volume of the Benedictine edition of Jerome's works, p. 249–254. Jerome's second Apology against Rufinus, vol. iv. part ii. p. 409, ejusd. edit. and his Epistle to Pammachius and Oceanus, p. 347 of the same volume, and Huet ubi supra. Whoever looks into Origen, will allow with Rufinus and Huet, that he has been miserably corrupted: but I think Jerome was right in contending, that it could not be to such an extent as to exempt him from the charge of what all these disputants would agree to call heresy. (See Acts xxiv. 14.) I think it probable also, that the passages Rufinus and Huet would have chiefly fixed upon, were not the interpolated ones. And I moreover believe, that such passages as were wilfully and fraudently interpolated, are to be attributed to the arts of the orthodox, rather than of the heretics. Orthodox, in ecclesiastical history, often means no more in reality than those that are uppermost. Those who have the power in their hands are always orthodox. Now it is much easier for those

The fact is, that the fathers carried on their disputes with so much rage and violence, that many even of the more moderate of them, in reading the works of their opponents, could not keep their hands from the margin. And these marginal animadversions being introduced, from various motives, by subsequent transcribers, into the text, render it sometimes contradictory, and sometimes un-

those who are in power, than it is for those who are not so, to adulterate books in this way. And ease and probability of success are great additional temptations to engage in any undertaking, And on this ground, if there were no other, I should be inclined to think that Oudin spoke the truth, when he said: Longe meliori fide in editionibus patrum agunt Lutherani et Calvinistæ, quam Pontificii, quibus omnia corrumpendi occasionem et *necessitatem* præbent indices expurgatorii Romani, ad corruptiones et adulteria operum ejusmodi jussu Romanorum pontificum compositi. (Oudini, Comment de Script. Ecclesiast. Vol. i. p. 987.) But I am of opinion that it is not wilful fraud, but rather marginal annotation, which has been the most fertile source of adulterating the works of the ancients, and especially the fathers. Readers, of all sorts, not only heretics and orthodox, among the different parties of christians, but, perhaps, occasionally, even infidels, both pagans and jews, wrote their remarks upon, and made their additions to, what they perused in the original author. And then some subsequent scribe, or bookseller, advanced these notes into the text, believing that they properly belonged to it, or at least without any conviction to the contrary, and, perhaps, little solicitous to make any inquiries, which might end in depriving them of a plausible pretence of offering for sale a fuller edition of an esteemed author.

The foregoing reasoning, respecting the corruption of Origen by the heretics, will apply also to what is said by Photius, Rufinus, and Le Clerc, about the similar corruption of Clemens Alexandrinus. See Bibliothéque Universelle, vol. x. p. 223–229.

intelligible

intelligible, till they are again rejected, and then, what was before dark as Erebus, often becomes more intelligible than convincing. Sometimes these interpolations, being observed by later readers, or editors, not to incorporate cordially, in their crude state, with the original text, have undergone an alteration in their constituent parts, in order to produce an amalgamation. And thus the case often becomes hopeless and without remedy. The evil is seen, but the disease is too complicated for human sagacity to cure.

In their preaching, too, and expounding, it was the custom of these fathers, from idleness, from an affectation of learning, from a zeal for orthodoxy, and from other causes, to rake together, without judgment, whatever they could amass to make up a homily or a lecture, which was afterwards, by themselves or others, sent abroad into the world as the work of one man, with perhaps some celebrated name affixed to it, forming a heterogeneous compound, which it would puzzle an Œdipus to unriddle.

Then in the translations which the latin fathers made from the Greeks, sometimes of whole works, and sometimes of parts, or detached scraps only, and which they published sometimes as the productions of the original authors, and sometimes as their own, they altered and interpolated passages without the least scruple, in any way they thought would suit their purpose, generally to make them what they called orthodox; and without minding at all how they were to be afterwards delivered to the world, whether

whether as their own productions, or those of another. Rufinus acknowledged and boasted that this was the way in which he had translated Origen.* He translated Eusebius in the same way, without acknowledgment. Many others were equally dishonest, not only in translating, but in quoting and publishing, the works of their predecessors.†

* In the preface to his translation of Origen's book περι αρχων which may be seen in the 4th volume, part ii. p. 339, of the Benedictine edition of Jerome's works. Of Rufinus's Version of Origen, Huet says: Nam ejus scripta interpretans, ita additamentis et detractionibus vexavit et corrupit ut Origenem in Origene desideres. Huetii Origeniana, lib. iii. cap. i. §. 3. See also book 2d. chap. iii. §. 5 and 10; and likewise what Huet says of another latin translator of Origen's Commentary on Matthew. Illum si ad græcum quem damus, contextum exegeris, Deus bone, quod interpretationis monstrum comperies! Totas paginas, tota folia assuta, tota detracta deprehendes. Ib. lib. iii. c. i. §. 1.

† The Latins seem to have outdone the Greeks (though these were no mean proficients in the art) in every mode of corrupting christianity; and especially in this mode of disguising, misrepresenting, and corrupting the works and opinions of preceding writers. No faith whatever is to be placed in any old latin translation of a greek ecclesiastical writer. Besides Origen and Eusebius, before mentioned, *Irenæus* seems also to have suffered terribly in this way; as likewise *Clemens Alexandrinus*. On sait que lorsque les Latins traduisoient quelque chose des Grecs, ils étoient fort sujets à y faire les changemens qu'ils trouvoient à propos. . . . . A l'égard d'une partie des Hypotyposes de Clément, Cassiodore parle ainsi: . . . . . Il y a beaucoup de choses subtiles; mais aussi quelques-unes qu'il a avancées, sans y bien prendre garde. Nous l'avons fait traduire en latin, en sorte qu'ayant oté ce qui pouvoit scandaliser, on pût lire avec plus de sureté sa doctrine ainsi purifiée. " Ubi multa " quidem subtiliter sed aliqua incautè locutus est, quæ nos ita " transferri

The public creeds, liturgies, and councils, were all notoriously corrupted. The *catenas*, the *orthodoxographas*, and the *bibliotheças*, compiled for ostentation and for sale, often the works of mercenary scribes and booksellers, are mere masses of corruption, interpolation, confusion, and contradiction, of which the parts seem to have been assigned, at random, right or wrong, to any authors whose names were fitted to the purposes, not of the honest, but dishonest, compilers.

These causes, when added to the bigotry, ignorance, darkness, and profligacy of those ages in which the later fathers lived, and to the little care and judgment employed in editing the works of any of them, and in preserving and purifying them, from time to time, from the errors which time and transcription alone would introduce,* may serve to shew your correspondent, to whom I now bid adieu, that much more caution and discrimination are requisite to read these writers, and to make a right use of what we read, than I can find displayed in any one of his letters.†

" transferri fecimus in latinum, ut exclusis quibusdam offendi-
" culis, purificata doctrina ejus securior posset hauriri." De Institut. divinar. literar. cap. viii. p. 543. edit. 1679. Bibliothéque Universelle, vol. x. p. 229.

* At ferendum illud erat, si non eo accessisset malorum hominum nequitia, errores suos malis artibus propugnantium, et alienis operibus adulteras manus inferentium. Huet Origeniana, l. iii. c. i. §. 3.

† If your friend is disposed to pursue this study of the fathers, I would advise him, by way of preparation for it, to read carefully Daillé's book, *De usu Patrum*; and I would recommend

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the latin edition, which contains many things not to be found either in the original french edition, or in the english, which is translated from it. From this last version, however, I will transcribe a few words which, I think, are expressed in a way very suitable to your friend's case. They are taken from the fourth chapter of the first part, which treats particularly of those corruptions we have been considering, and proves at large what I have but briefly touched upon. "Thou hast gone along "innocently, perhaps, reading these books of the ancients, and "believing thou there findest the pure sense of antiquity; and "yet thou seest here, that from the beginning of the sixth cen- "tury, they have made no scruple of cutting off from the most "sacred books they had, whatsoever was not agreeable to the "gust of the times. And therefore, though we had no more "against them than this, it were, in my judgment, a sufficient "reason to move us to go on here very warily, and, as they "say, with a stiff rein through this whole business." Page 49. edit. 1651.

LETTER VI.

Après tout, mon cher philosophe, encore un peu de temps, et je ne sais si tous ces livres seront nécessaires, et si le genre humain n'aura pas assez d'esprit pour comprendre *par lui-même* que trois ne font pas un, et que du pain n'est pas Dieu.

D'ALEMBERT, Lettre 31 de Mars, 1762.

Personal abuse, that favourite *colour* which glares most in the fool's *rhetoric*, is carefully to be avoided.

WARBURTON'S Works, vol. iv. p. 541. 4to.

Christianam religionem, absolutam et simplicem, anili superstitione confundens.

AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. xxi. cap. xvi.

SIR,

HAVING shewn you that your rule is without foundation, and your correction of the common version of the scriptures erroneous, it is almost needless to remark, that your 'new proofs* of the 'divinity of Christ,' fall to the ground. Indeed, if your rule were ever so true, and your corrections ever so just, they would be far from supplying you with any thing like a *proof* of any such absurdity: and the inquiry I have carried on, is more useful to vindicate the truth of language, and of scripture in general, than necessary to refute that

* "To be impartial to every body, we must say, that those "who engage in disputes with the Socinians, and take new "roads, seldom fail to lose their way." BAYLE'S Dict. vol. v. p. 820. edit. 1738.

popish * doctrine in particular, which you would uphold by your mistaken interpretations.

Suppose we were to grant you your own construction of the texts in question, what strength would accrue to the doctrine from such a concession? None but this, that Jesus would in that case be *called* God in a few more passages of scripture, than he is at present. And what is there in that? The title of *God* is an appellation which even Socinians, without reading it in your texts, have admitted that the scriptures have bestowed, not only upon Jesus, but upon many other human beings. The mere repetition of the *title* does not contain any 'new' or additional 'proof' of the doctrine. The

* By *popish* I mean *superstitious:* though of the *trinity*, according to the latest *mode* in which it was established, the mode now chiefly in vogue, it is to be observed, that it was introduced in the same popedom in which *transubstantiation* was introduced, viz. at the fourth Lateran council, held in 1215, under Innocent 3d. (See Taylor's Ben Mordecai's Apology, vol. i. p. 65 and 212. edit. 8vo. 1784.)

According to the learned Selden, the trinity is partly superstitious and partly fanatical. "The second person," says he, "is made of a piece of bread by the papist; the third person "is made of his own frenzy, malice, ignorance, and folly, by "the Round head. To all these the spirit is intituled. One the "baker makes, the other the cobler; and betwixt those two, I "think the first person is sufficiently abused." *Table Talk*, article *Trinity*.

In the "Brief History of the Unitarians," page 45, col. ii. as republished in the Unitarian Tracts, 4to. 1691, vol. i. is a quotation from an english papist, affirming that, "*Christ is the Pope's* "*God;* for if the Pope had not been, Christ had not been taken "for any such person as this day we believe him to be."

meaning

meaning of the word, the *sense* in which it is applied to Jesus, is the question. If there were one single passage of scripture in which the writer meaned to say, in the sense in which you use the words (pages 38 and 22), that Jesus were God, really Jehovah, it would be decisive. There would be no need of repetition. But to repeat a doubtful term without something additional to ascertain its meaning, is doing nothing. And there is nothing more in your texts, even upon your own construction of them, to ascertain the *meaning* of the word, than there was before.

If you suppose, as both you (page 22) and your editor (page 23) seem to do, and as some of the fathers did, that there is something more in Jesus being stiled, 'our *great* God,' according to your explanation of Tit. ii. 13. than in his being simply stiled *God*; you fall into an error which, though not uncommon, is yet great: I mean the error of transferring the questions, opinions, and controversies of your own times to other times in which no such questions, nor any thing belonging to them, existed. At the time when the New Testament was written, should we even suppose that the writers meaned to say that Jesus was a divine being, yet most assuredly there was no question started, no controversy on foot, as there was afterwards (for ecclesiastics have made Jesus God by degrees), about the *quantum* of his divinity. The sacred writers could have meaned no more, had they said that he was the *great* God, than they could have done if they had said that he was *God* simply: for they meaned no more when

they applied the one appellation, than when they applied the other, to God himself, the God of Jesus. To say of any being that he was the *great* God, was not, with *them*, to make him *more* of a God, than to say merely that he was *God*: for to *them* there was but one God, and whoever was God in their estimation, must be completely so, or not at all. Were we to suppose, therefore, that the sacred writers meaned to say that Jesus was a deity, it is certain that they could never mean to say that he was a deity of the *greatest* kind. They knew nothing of the miserable distinctions which were afterwards invented between an αὐτοθεος and a θεος εκ θεου; between a ὁ επι παντων θεος and a θεος λογος; between a God who was the "origin, the cause, the author, the root, "the fountain,"* &c. of divinity, and a God who was derived, begotten, incarnate, &c.; between God the father, and God the son; between a God and a Godman,† and one knows not how many other wretched quirks and expedients, to degrade the religion of christians below that of jews, and mahometans. ‡ If, therefore, Paul had intended that

* See Bishop Pearson on the Creed, pages 37 and 38, fol. edit.

† A *Godman* seems to be more of a monster than a gorgon, a hydra, a chimæra, a centaur, a griffin, &c. &c. because these are only made up by the imagination of incongruous parts which never *did* exist together: but your *godman* is made up of parts which never *can* possibly exist together; parts destructive of, and excluding each other. Your *godman* is a kind of circular triangle, or triangular circle.

‡ Christianity, *in itself*, is a thing quite plain and wholly practical; consisting in *nothing else* but the love of God, and the love of our neighbour, (Matt. xxii. 36–40.) With morals the New

Tit. ii. 13. should be construed as you explain it (which I have shewn you he did not), still he could

New Testament begins; (Matt. iii. 2–8. v. 3, &c.), and with morals it ends; (Rev. xxii. 14.), and with morals every intermediate page is filled. See more especially for a summary abridgment of the whole of his religion, our Saviour's own words, Matt. xix. 16–22, and xxv. 31–46. John xiii. 35. xiv. 15, 21, 23, 24. xv. 10, 12, 17; and those of his beloved disciple, 1 John iii. 22–24. v. 3. In short, if the point is to be settled by Jesus and his apostles, *he* is a christian, and he alone, who is a *doer of the word*, (Rom. ii. 13. Jam. i. 22–25.) But christianity, as it has been altered and disguised by divines, is converted into a *system* of dark and unintelligible *mysteries*. *They* have settled it, that *he* is a christian, and he alone, who *believes*, or rather fancies and professes to believe, all kinds of absurdity and nonsense. As the great lord *Bacon* has it, a *believing* christian, i. e. one formed not upon the plan of Jesus and the apostles, but upon the plan of these divines, "*believes three to be one, and one* "*to be three; a father not to be elder than his son, a son to be equal* "*with his father; and one proceeding from both to be equal with both;* "*he believing three persons in one nature, and two natures in one person.* "*He believes a virgin to be the mother of a son; and that very son of* "*hers to be her maker. He believes him to have been shut up in a nar-* "*row room, whom heaven and earth could not contain. He believes* "*him to have been born in time, who was and is from everlasting.* "*He believes him to have been a weak child carried in arms, who is* "*the Almighty; and him once to have died, who only hath life and* "*immortality in himself. He believes a most just God to have punished* "*a most just person, and to have justified himself, though a most un-* "*godly sinner.*" BACON's Works, vol. ii. p. 372. edit. 1753. fol.

Thus the name of Christian is made to stink (Gen. xxxiv. 30), not only among nations of infidels, but among unbelievers in our own land; and what is worse, we ourselves are internally corrupted and made rotten by these substitutes for morality, which, wherever they prevail, are sure to undermine, more or less, both our piety and our charity. See this proved in the Unitarian Tracts, 4to. vol. ii. Tract 1. p. 5–11.

mean no more than to call Jesus the great being God, God who is great; which, in whatever way we understand the word *God*, whether as spoken metaphysically of the nature of Jesus, or metaphorically of his virtues, would amount to nothing more, on either supposition, than calling him simply God.

But the stride which you make in your argument, when you go, at one step, from the premises, of a person's being *called* God, to the conclusion that he is *really Jehovah*, and one, *in nature and essence*, with the God and father of Jesus (page 22), is indeed immense; reaching not merely to climes beyond the solar road, but even far beyond all that I can conceive of the utmost bounds, and possible capacities, of universal nature: though you and your sound divines, so gigantic are your conceptions, seem to think no more of it than if you were crossing a kennel to go from one side of the street to the other.

Oh! the credulity of human nature! Do but begin with it in infancy, and you may so debase the gift of God to man, as scarcely to leave a trace of any thing, but his outward form, to distinguish between him and the beasts of the field. You may degrade the human mind till it will swallow any thing. You may make it believe that a piece of bread is the body of a man who was buried near eighteen hundred years ago! Nay more; that the son of a galilean carpenter, who died upon the cross, is the omnipotent Jehovah, who can neither die nor change, "the blessed and only potentate, the king "of kings, and lord of lords, who only hath im-"mortality, dwelling in the light which no man

"can

"can approach unto, whom no man hath seen, nor "can see!" (1 Tim. vi. 16.) And all this upon no other ground than a mere incidental metaphor dropt in a book, the whole stream of which runs clear, and full, and strong, against all such monstrous conceptions!*

Surely, Sir, you, and your orthodox brethren, can never allow yourselves to reflect seriously and deliberately upon the *magnitude* of the point to be proved, or you never would be the dupes of such frivolous reasoning. When I compare the enormity of your conclusions with the weakness of your premises, I have no other alternative but to suppose either such a total want of reflection as I have just mentioned, or else that the early and repeated inculcating of the tenet, coupled with the habitual persuasion of its being profane to call the truth of it in question, has so subdued your judgments, that, as to inquiries of this sort, they are like the consciences

* "It is no wonder if men can *accommodate* scripture-expres-"sions to their own dreams and fancies. For when men's fan-"cies are so possessed with schemes and ideas of religion, "whatever they look on appears of the same shape and colour "wherewith their minds are already tinctured, like a man sick "of the jaundice, or that looks through a painted glass, who "seeth every thing of the same colour that his eye or glass gives "it. All the metaphors, and similitudes, and allegories of "scripture, are easily applied to their purpose; and if any word "sound like the tinkling of their own fancies, it is no less than "a demonstration that that is the meaning of the spirit of God; "and every little shadow and appearance doth mightily confirm "them in their pre-conceived opinions." Dean SHERLOCK's Discourse on the Knowledge of Jesus Christ, page 69. 2d edit. 1674.

Paul

Paul speaks of, perfectly seared with a hot iron, and have lost all sense of feeling for any thing but your own prepossessions upon the subject.*

That doctrine which makes man to be God, nay more, both god and man at the same time, is so contradictory, I do not say to the probabilities, but to every thing we know of the possibilities of reason and nature, and, in addition to this, so at variance with the general voice of all revelation, that a free and unbiassed mind, arrived at maturity, feels it a less violent measure to admit the truth of almost any supposition sooner than this. Were it true, which is very far from being the case, that the scriptures had called Jesus God *in such a way*, as that it could be understood no otherwise than as an assertion of his divine nature, it would be much more easy and natural to suppose (harsh as the supposition, with-

* "Chacun qui lit l'Ecriture Sainte après avoir jugé, avant "que de l'avoir jamais lue, qu'elle contient ce qu'on lui a en- "seigné, et qui croit qu'en douter un moment est un péché qui "mérite les flammes de l'enfer, y trouve infailliblement tous les "dogmes de son parti; et si quelque expression paroit peu favor- "able à ces dogmes, on l'interprete par rapport à ce qu'on "pense, malgré toutes les régles de la critique, parce qu'on sup- "pose que cela doit-être nécessairement ainsi." Le Clerc, Bibliothéque Universelle, vol. x. p. 377.

"This is enough to shew you how dangerous it is to pre- "possess our fancies with some arbitrary notions in religion, "which naturally force men to pervert the scriptures to make "them speak the orthodox language. To this we owe all those "nice and subtle distinctions, which constitute the body of sys- "tematical divinity, which commonly have no other design, "than to evade the force of scripture, or to bribe it to speak on "their side." Dean Sherlock, ubi supra, p. 93.

out

out something else to corroborate it, would certainly be) that the words were interpolated, than that the doctrine was that of the scriptures.

But as the fact stands, there is no occasion for this, nor for any supposition, that has the smallest harshness in it whatever. All the harshness is on the side of those who maintain, and not of those who deny, the doctrine. For such is the context and connection, such the object and aim of the writer, in all those places of scripture (even of your own texts, with your own interpretation of them) in which the title of *God* is applied to Jesus, that it cannot possibly be supposed to have any reference or allusion to the metaphysical nature and essence of our Saviour, without supposing that the writer has lugged in head and shoulders, as the phrase is, that which is quite foreign to the subject he has in hand. The whole design and drift of the author, all his views and purposes, together with the relations and dependencies that subsist between the surrounding words and the word *God*, conspire to point out its figurative meaning.*

* Not only in these places, but in many other parts of scripture, the common orthodox interpretations (to say nothing of the absurd *consequences* and contradictions which follow from such interpretations), are much more harsh and unnatural in themselves, than those given of the same passages by the Unitarians. Was ever any interpretation in this world half so harsh and unnatural, for instance, as that commonly given of the beginning of John's Gospel? What could ever possess any writer to begin a book, without any preface or previous explanation of his meaning, with: "In the beginning was the *word*," if he meaned to say by that expression, "In the beginning was *Jesus Christ*?" And yet, from the mere effect of *habit*, the orthodox are grown quite insensible

To suppose that the sacred writers, in these passages, thought of any other meaning, is just as nainsensible to the harshness of this explanation. "Every one "knows," says an othodox writer, "that *Christ* is more fre- "quently stiled *the word* in the uncontested writings of St. John "than elsewhere."——"But," says Lardner, "though Mr. "Twells says *every one knows* this; I must entreat him to make "an exception for me, till somebody has shewn me the several "texts of St. John's uncontested writings, where *Christ* is so "called; for at present I do not know of one." LARDNER's Works, vol. iii. p. 122. edit. 1788; or Credibility, part ii. vol. iv. p. 711. edit. 1740.

Of the Unitarian interpretations hitherto given of this introduction to John's gospel, it has been said that they are harsh, forced and unnatural. Perhaps they may be so; but certainly not in an equal degree with the orthodox interpretation. A Unitarian writer in the old Unitarian Tracts, 4to. 1692. vol. ii. tract vii. p. 8, "frankly confesses" (to his credit), "that he "does not well understand this dark and difficult" passage, and adds, that he is "not satisfied with either the Arian or Socinian "explications of it; but least of all with the Trinitarian sense." This is a sensible and manly acknowledgment, and I wish the commentators, both sacred and prophane, would oftener make these acknowledgments than they do.

With regard to this or that interpretation appearing *natural* or *unnatural*, it is a judicious and philosophical remark of Dr. Priestley, that impressions of this sort may often "arise from "nothing more than former fixed associations of ideas, which "may have no foundation in truth." ..... "A papist thinks "any other interpretation of the words, *This is my body*, than "the most literal one, or that which implies the doctrine of "transubstantiation, to be exceedingly unnatural." Preface to his English Harmony of the Gospels, page v. See also Preface to his "Familiar illustration of certain passages of Scripture," an excellent little tract republished in Tracts by the Unitarian Society, 1791. 12mo. vol. i. p. 80 and 81. See also some good observations on this subject, in the old Unitarian Tracts, 4to, 1691. vol. i. tract, *Thoughts on Sherlock's Vindication*, p. 17 and 18, and tract, *Brief Hist.* p. 23.

tural as to suppose that Paul thought those persons, who he says made their belly their *god*, really believed that part of their bodies to be possessed of a divine nature and essence. You might, with as much reason, affirm, that Rousseau, who doubted at least, if he did not deny, the existence of all revelation whatever, believed Jesus to be really Jehovah, because he has said in that fine drawn character which he has given of our Saviour, in the fourth book of his Emilius: "Oui, si la vie et la mort de "Socrate sont d'un sage, la vie et la mort de Jésus "sont d'un *Dieu*;" as to affirm, that the writers of the New Testament believed it, because they, speaking of the same person, have used the same word in the same way. To give the title of *God* to human beings, is not without example, either in sacred writers, or profane. In the Old Testament, not only Moses, but ordinary magistrates, are so called. In the New (Acts xii. 22.), we find it given to Herod. In Philo we find the Emperor Augustus praised for being displeased with the title, τα δε μη ταις υπερογκοις τιμαις δεθηναι και φυσηθηναι πολλα τοις εναργεσαλη, το μη δεσποτην μηδε θεον εαυτον εθελησαι προσειπειν, αλλα χαν ει λεγοιτο τις, δυσχεραινειν. Leg. ad Caium. vol. ii. p. 568, lin. 20, edit. Mangey. And in the next page, line 43, he says of Caligula: ὁ δε Γαϊος εαυτον εξετυφλωσε, α λεγων μονον, αλλα και οιομενος ειναι θεος. And Gregory Nazianzen calls himself and his party *gods*, because they worshipped the trinity: θεοι δια τριαδος προσκυνουμενης, vol. i. p. 440, B. edit. 1609.

Thus it appears that we could conclude nothing as to the nature and essence of Jesus from his being

called

called God, even if the sacred writers had *frequently* applied the term to him: because there is no doubt that they spoke and wrote as the rest of mankind did. And had they meaned to speak otherwise, more especially if they had intended to use such a term in so *very extraordinary* a way, such was the open simplicity and plainness of their characters, that they would have explained themselves in the amplest and fullest manner. But the title of God is *not* frequently, but on the contrary very rarely, given to Jesus in scripture. I think, as I said in a former letter, in not more than one indisputable passage throughout the New Testament. Both jews and christians were averse to bestowing it on any living being, because, to their credit, they abhorred such flattery: but neither jew nor christian, sacred or prophane, in those early times, ever conceived that any person would be so mad as to suppose that any thing more was meaned by the title than a mere metaphor.*

Those who treat of the evidences of christianity, consider, and justly consider, the *incidental* mention

* "He who would be an honest reader of books, who hath no "mind to turn every thing into burlesque, ought carefully to "distinguish between proper and allusive, or metaphorical ex- "pressions, to consider the use of words and phrases, and the "great variety of dialects, and the peculiar modes of speaking "in every language, and in every age, and to urge metaphors "no further than their first intention; without which we may "deal by all authors, as these men deal by the scripture, make "them speak nonsense, or (as they use to call them), venerable "mysteries, and overthrow and contradict their own design." SHERLOCK's Knowledge of Christ, p. 82.

of

of the books in which the religion is contained, as a clear and decisive proof that those books must have been extremely well known, at the time they were *thus* mentioned, and in all probability very current among christians long before. Thus, for instance, when Papias, who lived in the days of the apostle John, tells us, not formally and directly that Matthew wrote one gospel and Mark another; but, assuming this as a thing perfectly well known, tells us in what language the former wrote, and from what source the latter drew his account; it is inferred, that these gospels must have publicly borne the names of those evangelists at that time, and probably long before. (See Paley's Evidences of Christianity, part. i. chap. 9. sect. 1. No. 6.)

Now this argument is equally applicable to the subject before us. For if the divinity of Jesus be at all mentioned in those passages from which you and your orthodox brethren deduce it, most assuredly it is not formally and directly laid down, but only mentioned *incidentally*. The doctrine is certainly not the main object of the writer, not that which he is principally labouring to prove; but a thing to which he only makes a casual allusion in passing. If therefore the passages *do* refer to the doctrine, it is clear, from the way in which they mention it, that it must have been a doctrine commonly received, and extremely well known and familiar among christians at the time when the New Testament was written, and probably long before.

But this is what no polemic that I have met with (one

(one alone excepted*) has ever been so sturdy as to pretend. It is what no one, who reflects a moment, ever *can*, with a *shadow* of reason, pretend; if he is

* Mr. Hawkins, the Bampton Lecturer for 1787, seems to maintain this, when, speaking of the divinity of Jesus, he says (p. 59), "If this doctrine, was the doctrine of the church, previously to the publication of the holy writings, they are sufficiently full and explicit for the satisfaction, or confirmation of christians of all ages; if otherwise, here" [i. e. in the scriptures] "is more than enough to perplex and misguide them, and to lead them into errors of the first magnitude."

Can then this reverend gentleman believe, that such a revolution in the sentiments of the first christians, as *this*, could take place, and leave no trace behind it? A revolution more astonishing than any that the world ever witnessed! Can he believe that the disciples of Jesus should converse with him as a mere man, should see him live and die like a man, and afterwards be thus completely *settled* in the persuasion of his being the almighty God, without leaving behind them so much as a hint of the *transition* of their minds from one opinion to the other, without taking the least notice of the *means* by which a change so amazing was produced? To find *him* to be God, whom they had supposed to be nothing more than a man, must have excited the most astonishing emotions of wonder and surprize, must have filled their minds with such solemn aweful thoughts, as could not fail to make the deepest and most lasting impressions. And can it be supposed, that not a syllable should be recorded of such a total alteration of opinion, nor of the cause which produced it, nor of the sensations which it occasioned? Or can it be supposed, that if these things had ever been recorded, all records of them should be so entirely lost, as not to leave behind them so much as a memorial of their having ever existed? And what is more extraordinary, that this should happen when we have so many writings of the first christians still extant! He that can believe that such things can be so wholly lost, and die away, may believe that all the original story of christianity

acquainted with the scriptures, and has but a moderate knowledge of ecclesiastical history: in the first of which there are no traces of the fact, while in the

christianity may have died away; and that what we now read in the sacred writings is another story which has stepped into its place. And if such belief were valid, there would be an end of the evidences of our religion. (See upon this, Paley's Evidences, part i. ch. vii. and particularly pages 114, 115, 132, and 133, vol. i. 8vo. edit.)

Some observations of a writer in the "Theological Repository," arguing against the Arian hypothesis, are very applicable to this hypothesis of Mr. Hawkins's also. "Whenever," says he, "the revelation of a thing so highly *interesting*, and *unexpected*, as this must have been, had been made to the disciples of our Lord, their wonder and surprize must have been such, as we should have found some traces or intimations of in their writings. Nor can it be supposed, that a thing of so wonderful a nature as this, could have been announced to the body of christians, who certainly had not, at first, the most remote idea of such a thing, without exciting an astonishment that could not have been concealed, and such speculations and debates as we must have heard of. And yet the apostles, and the whole christian world, are supposed to have passed, from a state of absolute ignorance concerning the nature of their lord and master (regarding him in the familiar light of a friend and brother), to the full conviction of his being" the God of heaven and earth, "without leaving any intimations by which it is possible for us to learn, in what manner so wonderful a communication was made to them, or of the effects that it had on their own minds, or those of others." Vol. iii. p. 351.

No; the doctrine of our Saviour's divinity never *could* have been the doctrine of the church previously to the publication of the holy writings, unless the whole face and appearance of things were to be completely changed. And the only proper inference that can be drawn from Mr. Hawkins's making the supposition, is, that he felt the scripture-proofs, as they are

second there is abundant evidence of the contrary. For though the doctrine now spreads itself over so

called, of the doctrine, to be so weak and inconclusive, that he was very desirous of having something else to rest his faith upon. And this is pretty much the case with other advocates for these mysteries. They are willing to allow that none of these things can be proved from scripture, as soon as ever they can find any thing else to substitute in the room of such miserably slender proof. Thus the papists have not only confessed, but contended, that the trinity cannot be proved from scripture. Hi unanimi consensu negant S. Trinitatis unam essentiam in sacris literis esse revelatam: says *Sandius*, in his *Nucleus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, pag. 152. edit. Colon. 1676. 4to.; and he fills some pages with extracts from the writings of numbers of them, in proof of the assertion. See also, *Brief Hist. of Unitarians*, in Unitarian Tracts, 4to. 1691. vol. i. page 45, col. ii. *They* admit the church, and tradition, and fathers, and councils, as rules of faith: but Mr. Hawkins being excluded by his protestantism from these supports for his mysteries, and feeling himself equally distressed by the insufficiency and weakness of scripture-proof, is reduced to the necessity of *taking it for granted*, that our Saviour's divinity is a point that was *settled* before the publication of the New-Testament; and so is not *proved*, but only *alluded* to, in Scripture.

The anonymous author of a "Vindication of the Trinity," in three parts, written in 1753, in reply to Bishop Clayton's "Essay on Spirit," who is said to have been Dr. *Thomas Randolph*, late Professor of Divinity, at Oxford (see Monthly Review, Old Series, vol. xi. p. 372), has also declared, that the "divinity of Jesus is rather *strongly intimated*, than *plainly taught*," in the Scriptures, "because Jesus found himself obliged to "speak and act with great caution and reserve." Upon which an opponent makes some very good observations, and, among other things, asks; "What, *caution and reserve*, in a point" which you deem, "of such vast importance? Rem tantam tam "negligenter? . . . . And is an *intimation* sufficient to prove a "doctrine of so very difficult, and abstruse, and withal of so

"important

large a space of christian ground,* no one can read the fathers of the church without seeing what hard and long continued struggles it cost the monster to

" important a nature?" (See Monthly Review, ibid. p. 126 and 127.)

And it is observed by the authors of the Unitarian Tracts, in 4to. 1691, &c. that there is not a text of any consequence in the controversy, but what has been given up by some or other of the principal critics among the Trinitarians; so that among them they have given away the victory to their adversaries. This, they say, has been shewn by Sandius, in a treatise called *Scriptura Trinitatis Revelatrix*, which he wrote under the borrowed name of *Cingallus*. They affirm this to be the case with protestants as well as catholics; and they call upon Trinitarians to point out such a text: but the call was never answered. See Unitarian Tracts, vol. i. tract *Brief Hist.* p. 12 and 45; and vol. ii. tract i. p. 3.; and vol iii. tract viii. p. 35.

It is not to be wondered at, that Mr. Hawkins should feel the scriptures to be weak and insufficient on these points. A man who sets about to deduce the trinity from the appointment of the *Lord's day*, and from a text so decisive for the unity as 1 Cor. viii. 6. " To us there is but one God, the father," which, I think, rivals Ambrose's proof from John xvii. 3. (See note in page 92), and who can make the *seven* spirits, in Rev. i. 4. to be the *one person* of the holy ghost, thus making up in all *nine* persons; or rather, as Dr. Wallis calls them, *nine somewhats*, i. e. a trinity of trinities, in this truly incomprehensible mystery; cannot well do otherwise than feel the weakness of scripture-proofs. *Proofs*, call you them! By my faith, if this is your way of proving, you may prove what you will, from such a *nose of wax!*

* But though trinitarians are numerous, they are by no means one party, except in name; nor probably is there so many of them, of any one description, as there are of unitarians. When they condescend to say what they mean by believing in the trinity, there is no such thing as finding ten of them entirely of a mind. When the controversy was agitated at the close of the

work its way. Though aided and abetted by principalities and powers, by the rulers of the darkness of this world, and by spiritual wickedness in high places, its progress has been marked by most slow and painful gradations. It has been compelled to fight its way up, inch by inch, and to carry on the contest from century to century. And never to this hour has it been left in quiet and undisturbed possession of any part of christendom. So far is it from any pretensions to its having been a well known familiar tenet, commonly received and peaceably taught before the writing of the New Testament! *

17th century, it was reckoned that there were *forty* different trinities which had been defended in writing. (See Unitarian Tracts, 4to. vol. ii. tract i. pages 8–10.) And a later inquirer observes, that *ninety* different trinities are to be made out of the different explanations that have been given of only two words in the controversy, viz. *nature* and *person*. (See Taylor's Ben Mordecai's Apology, vol. i. p. 75. edit. 8vo. 1784. See also p. 66. 84, &c.; and for Bishop Stillingfleet's enumeration of different trinities, see ibid. p. 213.)

* It is curious to see the different fancies of those who, one way or another, *will* have a trinity. Mr. Hawkins takes it for granted, that the doctrine was fully and clearly taught, and quietly acquiesced in, before the publication of the holy writings. *Petavius*, on the contrary, affirms, and the generality of trinitarians agree with that learned writer on this point, that "the "catholic church accommodating itself, through prudential "reasons, to human weakness, came not to the full profession "of its doctrines, but by little and little, and by certain de-"grees." (See Taylor's Ben Mordecai, vol. i. p. 191; or Petavius de Trinit. lib. II. cap. vii. sect. ii.) Petavius also allows, that the ante-nicene fathers were Arians. (See Taylor, ibid. p. 183, and also p. 45–59.)

All this serves to shew, how weak men feel the scripture-proof of the doctrine to be. One party of those who opposed the trinity,

No, Sir; the only true way of accounting for those incidental expressions which theologians dislocate and torture in order to make them speak the language of their school-bred systems, is by supposing, what all history confirms, that the doctrine was never known, nor thought of, till long after the New Testament was written. The writers of that book had no more conception that any body could ever be so extravagant as to conceive that Jesus was 'really Jehovah,' than the writers of the Old Testament had, that any body would conceive Moses, or a civil magistrate, to be Jehovah. And it was for this reason, and for this alone, that both the one and the other gave the title of *God* to a human being, without scruple or hesitation.

Had they been aware of the folly and absurdity of succeeding ages, had they entertained the most distant suspicion that such a doctrine ever *could* be broached, the writers of the New Testament would have been as careful to avoid applying to their master, not only the term *God*, but every other metaphor which theologues have so much misconstrued

nity, were branded with the name of *Scripturarians*. See ibid. p. 176. Petavius says, that such as attempt to prove the trinity by scripture alone, sudare plus satis eos necesse est, et suo artificio superari. De Trinitate, lib. iii. cap. xi. sect. ix. And even Sherlock, a strenuous defender of the doctrine, did not seem to be willing that the question should be decided by the scriptures only. See Unitar. Tracts. 4to. 1691. vol. i. tract on the Acts of Athanasius, p. 3. I have before observed, that all the texts have been given up by one or other of the trinitarians. See, in addition to the references cited in the note, in page 147, the Unitar. Tracts, vol. ii. tract last, p. 30.

and abused, as their master himself, had he suspected that such a thing as transubstantiation ever *could* have been conceived, would, no doubt, have been to avoid the words, *this is my body*. But the sober and rational Jesus, though during the very short period of his ministry he saw much of the folly and madness of his fellow-creatures, had no more notion that they could ever proceed to such a pitch of infatuation as to maintain that a piece of bread was really his body, than they could ever maintain that a stock of wood (John x. 7. xv. 1.) or a stone (1 Cor. x. 4.) was really that body. And in like manner his first and most rational disciples, whose thoughts and words were wholly moral and never metaphysical, or theological, had no more idea that "eye would ever see, or ear hear, or that it would "enter into the heart of man," however they or any one else might incidentally express themselves, that the crucified Jesus was really Jehovah, than they had that the jews conceived him to be really Beelzebub (Matt. x. 25.), or that Paul thought him to to be really Adam (1 Cor. xv. 45.), or that either jew or gentile, would ever suppose him to be really, either a lamb, or a lion (John i. 36. Rev. v. 5.).*

* Sir Isaac Newton, who, it appears, was what you call a *Socinian*, and who lamented Dr. Clarke's embracing *Arianism*, which opinion he feared had been, and would be, a great obstruction to the progress of christianity, declared to his friend Hopton Haynes, Esq. his persuasion, that *the time would come, when the doctrine of the incarnation, as commonly received, would be exploded as an absurdity equal to transubstantiation.* See page xviii. of the preface to vol. i. of Baron's tracts, called "A Cordial "for low Spirits."

Indeed,

I myself, satisfied as I am that the doctrine is false and unscriptural, should have no objection to bestow the title of God upon a man, whom, for his divine, adorable virtues, I could almost fall down and worship, were it not that I never open the New Testament without meeting with something in every page of it which seems to say: "See thou do it not, "for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren "the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings "of this book: worship God" (Rev. xxii. 9.); I say, persuaded as I am, from scripture, that Jesus was no more than a mere man, I should feel no objection to give him the title of *God* for his virtues, were it not that I live in times when I see to what gross and monstrous conceptions such language is

Indeed, *transubstantiation* is not a jot more contradictory to reason than the *trinity* is. And as to scripture-evidence, the former has greatly the advantage over the latter. For, if you do but grant the papists their own interpretation of one single text, (Matt. xxvi. 26.), their tenet is proved at once; whereas the trinitarians must have their own interpretations of many texts, taken from very remote parts of scripture which have no connection with each other, granted them, before they can prove *their* mystery. Add to this, that *transubstantiation* is no where expressly contradicted in scripture; but the *divinity* of Jesus, upon which the *trinity* depends, is denied and declared to be false by the apostles, in terms as positive, direct, and explicit, as can well be conceived: (see John xvii. 3. 1 Cor. viii. 6. Ephes. iv. 6.), for, as long as these passages stand in the Bible, it is *impossible* that the *son* can be *God*, unless he be the *father* also; a flight that even trinitarians do not soar to! For some parallels between *transubstantiation* and the *trinity*, see the Unitarian Tracts, 1691, 4to. vol. i. tract on *Mystery*, pages 20–22.; and vol. ii. tract i. p. 3–5.; and tract ii. p. 4.

perverted. The sacred writers, having never witnessed such perversion, and having no suspicion that it ever *could* be witnessed, made use of this and similar metaphors, without being aware of the objection.

Consider, Sir, I once more entreat you, the nature of the doctrine, its awful and appalling *magnitude*. Consider the nature of the supposed proof, a mere *passing allusion*. And then consider the *character* of those whom you suppose to have believed and taught the astonishing tenet. Consider the plain, open, unreserved declaration which they every where make of their sentiments; their direct and full manner of "shewing all things," and of declaring, "at all seasons," "*all* the counsel of God," (Acts xx. 35. 18. 27). Having, after their master's resurrection, renounced all earthly hopes and fears, they had nothing "to manage or to dread." They were the disciples of a man, who himself spake openly to the world (John xviii. 20.), and who commanded them to preach his doctrine on the house-tops (Matt. x. 27.); and they executed the commission with resolution, unreservedness, and fidelity, speaking the word of God with all boldness and freedom (Acts iv. 13. 17—20. 29. 31. xiv. 3. xix. 8. xxvi. 26. Ephes. vi. 19, 20.), and keeping back nothing that was profitable, but shewing and teaching publicly from house to house (Acts xx. 20. and comp. Psal. xl. 10.) the things which concern the lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding them (Acts xxviii. 31.).

Were these the men to teach a doctrine so impor-

tant as you deem that of our Saviour's divinity; a doctrine so amazing, a doctrine so very repugnant to every thing in reason and in nature, a doctrine which requires to be laid down with authority so full, express, and positive, and to be asserted in terms so explicit and unequivocal, before any thinking mind can admit the slightest idea of it; were these, I ask, the men to teach a doctrine like this, by incidental expressions capable of metaphorical explanation, by oblique hints, casual notices, and passing allusions? Were these the men likely to leave a thing of this sort to be collected by *inference* and *deduction*, from a few scattered and obscure intimations, from the petty observations of a grammarian upon the omission of a greek article, or the plurality of a hebrew noun? No, Sir, No. *Such* a doctrine was never taught, by *such* men, in *such* a way!

Had they ever intended to teach it, and still more had they been commissioned by heaven to teach it, we should have read it in their writings as clearly, copiously, and unequivocally, as we do in those of the most explicit and orthodox of the fathers, let him be who he will, not excepting the exquisite author of that incomparable piece, *Quicunque vult*.*

Whatever they thought profitable for doctrine,

* "Bishop Beveridge (Exposition, p. 163), styles the Athanasian an *incomparable* creed; and I do most cordially subscribe to the truth of the assertion. For, of all the monuments, in human nature, of presumption, arrogance, and conceit, which the history of past ages has left on record, I know of none which may be fitly *compared* to this." WILTON's *Review of some of the Articles of the Church of England*, p. 91. 8vo. 1774.

for

for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, and much more whatever they thought necessary for salvation, which some pretend to be the case with this tenet, the sacred writers, using great plainness of speech, taught openly, explicitly, and repeatedly, in season and out of season (2 Tim. iii. 16.—iv. 5. and 2 Cor. iii. 12). They left no doubt of their meaning in such cases, no question whether they spoke literally or metaphorically, nothing for their successors to do but to repeat again what they had repeated over and over in the plainest, fullest, and most unambiguous terms before. The very doubt, therefore, that hangs over the few, scanty, casual passages, from which the theological alchymy of the darker ages has extracted such a *caput mortuum*, is sufficient to shew that it is not the design of those passages to teach any thing of the kind.

But when, in addition to this doubt, we see the doctrine contradicted, both expressly in many particular places of scripture, such as John xvii. 3. 1 Cor. viii. 6. Ephes. iv. 6. &c. &c. which affirm positively that the *father* of Jesus is the *only* true God, and also generally contradicted by the whole tenor of holy writ: when we observe, moreover, to what miserable shifts and expedients the advocates for these mysteries are forced to have recourse, in order to evade the clear and full testimony against them, such as the strange, unintelligible jargon of two natures in one person,* of two sorts of gods, an essen-

* It is truly wonderful, that any rational being should be imposed upon by this theological *hocus-pocus*, by which *sound divines* pretend that they can, in spite of the immutable laws of

nature,

tial god and a personal god, and one knows not how many more absurdities, of which there is not the most distant hint in scripture:* when we see with what clumsy buttresses they prop up the incoherent parts of their incongruous, mis-shapen, fabric: we gaze with perfect astonishment at the magic and

nature, change a corruptible man into the uncorruptible God: nay, what is more astonishing, can *so* change him, that he shall *not* be changed, but though perfect God, shall still continue to be perfect man, that is, to be God and not God, man and not man at the same time! But when once men, calling themselves christians, forsook the simple moral religion of Jesus, and went a whoring after their own metaphysical inventions; in process of time, their foolish hearts became so darkened by their vain imaginations (Rom. i. 21), that they were brought to believe, that where religion began, common sense was at an end; and there was no fraud, however gross and despicable, but what might be practised with more or less success upon their credulity. They believed that all the laws of the universe might be overturned, and set aside, by a greek article!

* For some specimens of the charming consequences which flow from the contemptible fiction of *two natures in one person*, see the Unitarian Tracts, 4to. 1691, &c. vol. i. tract upon *the Acts of Athanasius*, page 29, and tract of *Brief Hist. of Unitarians*, page 46; and vol. ii. tract ii. p. 6, 7, and 14. See also Taylor's Apology of Ben Mordecai, vol. i. p. 116–120; and Mr. Lindsey's Catechist, Inquiry the 6th: and for an illustration of the other anti-christian fiction of a personal and an essential God, producing Gods two in *kind*, and four in *number*, see Unitarian Tracts, 4to. vol. i. *Acts of Athanas.* p. 18. These inventions are mere theological subterfuges, coined to evade the palpable contradictions which result both to reason and scripture, from the doctrine of a trinity, which, however, they do *not* evade, but only remove to a little further distance. It is just the case of the Indian supporting the world, first with his elephant, then with his tortoise, &c. &c. At every shift the difficulty *increases*, to the trinitarian at least, if not to the Indian.

fascinating

fascinating power of religious prejudice instilled in early life, and upheld by an aweful, superstitious dread of inquiring into a subject weakly deemed too sacred for human investigation!

Here, Sir, I close my observations on the matter of your Remarks.* I have still something to say

* One thing more, however, I cannot wholly omit to notice, and that is, your *curious* mode of reasoning in your notes, pages 5, 11, and 12. Jesus, you say, must be the object of *supreme worship*, because he is mentioned *jointly* with God, in the following texts, 1 Thess. iii. 11, 1 Tim. i. 1 and 2, 2 Tim. i. 2, Tit. i. 4, 2 Jo. 3, 2 Cor. i. 2, Ephes. i. 2. vi. 23, Gal. i. 3, Philem. 3. What a charming thing a conjunction is! Much virtue in *if!* says Touchstone. None at all, say I, compared with *and!*—You certainly must, Sir, have a coalition with Ambrose, as I recommended in my 4th letter, (note upon p. 93). And do you really think that Jesus was *prayed* to, in any one of these texts? By the same sort of Ambrosian logic, the *seven spirits* (Rev. i. 4), must be supremely worshipped, and prayed to; David must be *worshipped* (1 Chron. xxix. 20), and Samuel must be *feared* (1 Sam. xii. 18), as *God*. And, in like manner, when a protestant says, as many a good protestant does say, "God and "all good angels guide you on your way," your logic makes him to be one that *prays* to and worships angels, and turns him into a staunch papist in a moment.—"Angels and ministers of "grace defend us!" I was going to say, had not the fear of being made a papist myself stood in my way. Nay, if every simple *wish* is to be thus turned into a *prayer* and supplication, you may prove that many an honest man in this country offers up *supreme worship* to the devil himself. Upon this subject of worshipping and praying to Jesus, I would recommend you to read what is said in Unitarian Tracts, 4to. vol. ii. tract iii. pag. 46–50; and in modern Tracts, published by the Unitarian Society, vol. ii. 1791. 12mo. tract 4th, pag. 10–22; and the latter of two dissertations published in 1779, 8vo. by the good and every way worthy Mr. Lindsey; and the 6th section of his "Examination of Robinson's Plea," p. 70–89. edit. 1789.

Your

on the manner of them. I do not mean the want of perspicuity and precision in expressing your ideas, which I have before noticed as far as was necessary

Your conclusion is no less *curious*, when you infer (p. 8 and 9), that because Jesus is called a *shepherd*, and God is also called a *shepherd*, therefore Jesus is God. "Oh! most lame and impotent conclusion!" (Shaksp.) Saul is called king of Israel (1 Sam. xxiv. 14), and God is also called king of Israel (Isa. xliv. 6.), therefore Saul is God! The Lord have mercy upon us! If the Bible, in its object and design, had not been one of the plainest and simplest books in the world; if it had not been its *only* purpose to make us good and happy; and if that purpose had not filled every page of it, it must long since have been overwhelmed by the treatment it has met with. No other book was ever so used, or rather so abused, as this has been. No other book could have survived such usage. That it still continues to answer its design, and to do good among us, after it has been so bedaubed, so pitched and plastered over with one silly conceit or another, proves its consummate excellence, proves how copious and full, how constant, steady, and true it is to its main end and object, so that there is no way of wholly putting out its moral light, unless every chapter, nay, almost every verse of it, be completely *bunged* up with theology. I wonder no body ever took it into his head to maintain, that it ought to be read βουτροφηδον, one line forwards, and the next backwards, or up and down, like the Chinese, or that the two columns, where it is so printed, ought to be read across, in the manner of *Papyrius Cursor*. If it is to be *explained* so differently from all other books, I do not see why it may not be *read* differently from all other books. If common sense is to be wholly laid aside in expounding it, why may we not as well lay aside common sense in reading it? I verily believe, even then, it would look more like a book of morality than any thing else.

But, Sir, I must tell you another thing. Most of these texts from which you draw your inferences about *joint* prayer to Jesus, require to be a little corrected in the version: and if you were for mending the common translation of the New Testament

to our purpose; nor the positive, decisive tone which you assume, when you speak of your inter-

ment, you would have done well to have fixed upon these texts, instead of those which you fancy to be new proofs of the divinity of Jesus. You would then have seen, that if there were any prayer, or supplication *at all* contained in them, it would only be addressed to one being, the God of Jesus. Thus 1 Tim. i. 1, should be rendered; "according to (not *by*) the command-"ment of God, saviour of us, and lord of Jesus Christ." So Tit. i. 4, "from God, father and lord of Jesus Christ;" and 2 Cor. i. 2, "from God, father of us, and lord of Jesus Christ;" and so likewise, Ephes. i. 2. vi. 23. Philem. 3., and in many of the usual salutations of the New Testament, such as Rom. i. 7, 1 Cor. i. 3, Philip. i. 2, Coloss. i. 2, 1 Thess. i. 1, 2 Thess. i. 2, &c. &c. As to 1 Tim. i. 2, and 2 Tim. i. 2, there is some variation in the reading of the MSS. and versions. If we follow that reading, which omits ἡμῶν after πατρος, we may then render the words, "from God, father and king of Jesus, the "lord of us." That *Christ* is equivalent to *king*, appears from Mark xv. 32, Luke xxiii. 2, among other passages, and also from Lactantius, Institut. lib. iv. cap. vii. *Christus* ..... nuncupatio potestatis et regni; sic enim Judæi *reges* suos appellabant. Vol. i. p. 287. edit. Dufresnoy. And that *God* is stiled *king*, appears also from Psal. xxiv. 7–10. xlvii. 2. 6–8, and many other places of scripture. Or, if we follow the reading which retains ἡμῶν after πατρος, we may then render the words either; "father of us and king of Jesus," as before; or, "father of us, "and of Christ Jesus." As to Galat. i. 3. the Alexandrian and several other MSS. fathers, &c. have ἡμῶν after πατρος, instead of after κυριω, and some omit ἡμῶν altogether, which is approved by Mill and Bengelius. According to either of these readings, this text will rank with the foregoing. And in 2 John 3, if we either omit θεου, or read του instead of it, with some MSS. this will also rank with the rest. Or και may be rendered by *even*; "*Even* the lord of Jesus." Or, which I prefer to any other explanation, *and from the lord Jesus*, may mean from his precepts and doctrine, from our making Jesus lord by becoming his servants,

pretations as the *plainest* grammatical constructions (page 22), and talk of the *unquestionable* proofs, the *clear* and *full* declarations, &c. of Christ's divinity (pp. 9, note, 12, note, 30, 38, 49, 54, &c.): but I mean the harsh, narrow, and uncharitable way in which you mention those who interpret the scriptures differently from yourself.

You use the word *Socinian* just as the vulgar do every religious and political denomination, except that which happens to describe themselves, namely, as a term of reproach, and not as a name of discrimination. You call them apostates (page 30), and sadducees (p. 42), and charge them with calumny, arrogance (44), and impiety (42, 46, 51). And you represent them as clamorous for a new translation of the scriptures, for the sole purpose of supporting a favourite system contradicted, as you affirm, by the plainest grammatical construction, and which a more close and literal version, you tell us, must necessarily cut up by the roots (pp. 22 and 44).

Now, Sir, what is there more disgraceful, or more deserving of reproach in a man's being a socinian, than in his being a lutheran, a calvinist, or an arminian? Socinus was not inferior to any of the reformers in learning, in morals, or in piety, as you may know if you will read his life, which I suspect, from your censures, you have not yet done.* Were any person, therefore, to embrace the religious opinions

* The latest and best account of Socinus is contained in the "Memoirs of his Life and Writings," by Joshua Toulmin, M.A. 8vo. 1777, the worthy and respectable minister of a unitarian congregation at Taunton.

of

of Socinus merely because they were his, though such conduct would be quite inconsistent with the protestant principle, yet I see nothing more reproachful in it than there would be in implicitly adopting the opinion of any other man, or body of men, calling themselves the church, whether they were catholics or protestants.

But if every man is to be called a Socinian, because he happens to agree with Socinus in one point, you yourself might be called a Socinian. For though you have not, like Socinus, advanced so far in the knowledge of the scriptures, nor learned to distinguish so well between the tradition of the elders and the commandments of God (Matt. xv. 2, 3, 6, 9), as to renounce the divinity of Jesus; I presume you have made sufficient progress in that knowledge to renounce, as he did, the divinity of Jesus's mother.

When you reproach those whom, for the purpose of rendering them odious, you call Socinians, with what you are pleased to term *clamour*, about the necessity of a new translation of the Bible, you discover as great inconsistency and partiality as you before betrayed in the business of the limitations to your rule, and in other parts of your Remarks. You yourself have told the public in your title page, that there are passages which are wrongly translated in the common version. In the course of your pamphlet it appears, that you deem these passages of great importance, call the common rendering of some of them 'very erroneous' (p. 34), and contend that the 'corrected version' which supports *your* 'favourite system,' ought not to be withheld from the

the mere english reader' (p. 44). Now, Sir, why may not other persons, even Socinians, if it should so happen, express their wishes for a new translation as well as yourself, without being more exposed than you are to the charge of clamour for a favourite system?

In page 58, you talk of Socinians presuming to lop off a text of scripture. If you mean the three heavenly witnesses (1 John v. 7.), as they are called, but which, like all the other witnesses for the trinity, have nothing heavenly in them (and I know not what else you can mean) you must surely know by this time, what every one knows, who has but a smattering of that species of *critical* knowledge which relates to the state of the sacred text and its various readings, that the labours of Messrs. Porson, Marsh, and Pappelbaum have indeed 'unquestionably' *proved* that this passage, so long and obstinately defended, never came down from the father of lights (James i. 17.), but is, like the trinity itself, one of those many unfruitful works of darkness (Ephes. v. 11.) with which the rulers of the darkness of this world (Ephes. vi. 12.), working abomination, and making a lie, have defiled the Lamb's book of life (Rev. xxi. 27.)*

* There is a very neat, comprehensive, and concise abridgment of the controversy relating to this text, down to the year 1790, in Dr. Disney's "Friendly Dialogue between a Unitarian "and an Athanasian," republished in vol. ii. of *Tracts by the Unitarian Society*, 1791, 12mo. See the note in p. 24–26. Even bishops and archbishops have begun to give up this text. Bishop Prettyman, in his "Elements of Christian Theology," says, "After an attentive consideration of the controversy relative to

"that

But you are persuaded, you say, that these same Socinians would not have been so clamorous for a new translation, had they been aware of your improvements upon the common version, and of your new proofs of the divinity of Jesus. How the wishes of Socinians relating to this subject may be affected by your Remarks, I, who am no Socinian, though long and patient study of the scriptures has convinced me that Jesus was *in all things* made like unto his brethren (Heb. ii. 17.), know not: but I will tell you, *en passant*, what effect your Remarks have had, in this respect, upon myself.

I am one of those who have long wished for a new translation of the Bible, by public authority, not so much because the present, in some parts of it, discovers an undue bias towards *your* favourite system, or other systems, for which I can see no foundation in the original, as because in very many parts, and in very large portions of it, it is so extremely literal as to be wholly unintelligible to a mere english reader; and when read in our churches, or families, might just as well be read in the hebrew, or greek. The consequence of this is, that such of the hearers, or readers, as have more piety than good sense, are driven into superstition, and are led to suppose that God may be worshipped and served by a stupid, senseless, and sanctified reverence for sounds and words, which, as they are not understood, can have no influence upon the conduct; while, on the con-

" that passage, I am convinced that it is spurious." Page 90. vol. ii. edit. 1799. And Archbishop Newcome has entirely omitted it in his translation of the New Testament.

trary

trary, such of them as have more good sense than piety, are driven towards infidelity, and are led to consider the Bible as a book which, in many places, is very confused, absurd, and incomprehensible, and of little use but to throw dust in the eyes of the vulgar: two opposite evils, both highly injurious to the interest and effect of christianity, and consequently to the happiness of mankind. It is the design and tendency of our most excellent religion to unite us all into one family, and to make us love and esteem each other as brethren: but the tendency of the Bible, thus translated, and thus read, is to separate us into two classes, the worldly wise, and the ignorantly pious, who do not love, because they cannot esteem, each other; but who live together deceiving and deceived, the former even deeming it a kind of pious fraud to impose upon the latter, whom, at the same time, they cannot help despising for being duped by the imposition.*

To reasons like these, for which chiefly I desire a

* "There is no book so translated as the Bible for the purpose. If I translate a french book into english, I turn it into "english phrase, not into french english. *Il fait froid*, I say, "*'tis cold* not, *it makes cold*; but the Bible is rather translated into "english words, than into english phrase. The *hebraisms* are "kept, and the phrase of that language is kept: as for example, *he uncovered her shame*, which is well enough, so long "as scholars have to do with it; but when it comes among the "common people, lord, what jeer do they make of it!" SELDEN's *Table Talk*.

Whoever doubts about the necessity of a new translation of the Bible, would do well to read Archbishop Newcome's "Historical View of English Biblical Translations," 8vo. 1792.

new authorised translation, nothing which you have said is any way applicable. And as to any other reasons derived from a disbelief of the divinity of Jesus, your 'new proofs' have not in the least abated my wishes upon that ground; as you may pretty well guess from the preceeding examination of these proofs. The specimens, however, which you have given of your abilities for correcting the common version, have most certainly had some influence upon my wishes for a new translation. They have made me heartily wish, that whenever the good work shall be undertaken, neither you, nor any one else who cannot give better proofs than you have done of his qualifications for the employment, should have any concern in the business. But to return to your treatment of these clamorous Socinians.

Why are those, who, in obedience to what they believe to be the voice and meaning of Jesus and his apostles, 'deny divine honour to our lord the Christ 'or Messiah,' to be branded with the title of apostates? Why is he who teaches that Jesus is 'nothing 'but a man,' because he is persuaded, after a careful inquiry, that revelation teaches the same thing, to be contemptuously called a sadducee? Why are christians of this description to be accused of 'ca-'lumny,' because they say that some passages of scripture have been corrupted? Have not you said the same thing in these very Remarks? And why are they to be charged with 'arrogance' because, by the help of manuscripts, versions, fathers, and other aids of just and sober criticism, they attempt to correct these passages, and to restore them to their original

original integrity? Have not you done this likewise? Are your charges, too, like your limitations, made to affect others, without affecting yourself? Or is it arrogance in those wretches, whom you think proper, in consequence, shall I say, or in proof, of your orthodoxy, to insult with the titles of apostates and sadducees, to think of doing as you do? Be it so. Still I see no cause for so much rage and railing. If some Socinians, or other deniers of our lord's divinity, have occasionally presumed to collate your favourite Alexandrian MS., that need not thus disturb you. There will yet remain distance enough between you and them; you will still stand unrivalled till some of them shall aspire, and I know not that they have yet shewn symptoms of aspiring, to the honour of drawing any text of that MS., letter by letter, or of making any tittle of it nearly three times as long as it is broad, by the help of a magnifying glass.

But you go on to execrate as '*impious*,' those who, though they receive the word with all readiness of mind, and search the scriptures daily, whether this thing be so (Acts xvii. 11.) yet cannot find any proof, new, or old, that Jesus is really Jehovah. This would be a serious and a heavy charge indeed, if you had any foundation for it: but you produce none. You do not condescend to say in what their *impiety* consists. All that I can find that looks like the least attempt to corroborate a charge which you have repeated more than once, is where you say (page 42), 'our socinian sadducees, who have *impi-*

'*ously* entitled our lord a *mere man*, and *nothing but a* '*man*, and *simple human nature*, will not be able to 'digest this necessary doctrine' [of our saviour's divinity] 'until they humble themselves to receive in-'structions from the holy scriptures.'

Now, Sir, you yourself must *know*, that those whom you here speak of, profess not only to receive instructions from scripture, but to reject the doctrine you deem necessary (to salvation, I suppose), for that very reason, *because* they receive instructions from scripture, and listen to it in opposition to those who teach for doctrines the commandments of men (Matt. xv. 9.). Either, therefore, you do not believe what they say:—and it will reflect no honour upon your candour to disbelieve the solemn and repeated assertions of men, who have never forfeited their veracity, and whose assertions indeed, on this subject, are indisputably confirmed by their labours:—or else, by receiving instructions from scripture, you must mean receiving the *explanations* of, and *deductions* from, scripture, given by yourself and your orthodox brethren. And, in that case, I leave every one to judge who it is that has most need of humility, the unitarian when he disputes your claim to infallibility, or you yourself when you call him an *impious sadducee*, for refusing to submit to it. You would, perhaps, feel the justice of this observation more forcibly, if a papist were to tell you, as any of them, with as much reason on his side as you have on your's, might tell you, that you will not be able to digest the necessary doctrine

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of transubstantiation, until you humble yourself to receive instructions from the holy scriptures.*

* No class of christians have ever been more ready to submit their opinions to the authority of scripture than the unitarians, and yet nothing is more common in their adversaries than to reproach them with a proud contempt of scripture. The writers of the old Unitarian Tracts, 4to. 1691, &c. declared publicly that "they would always prefer the infinite wisdom of God be-"fore the fallible dictates of human, or angelic reason: Rom. "iii. 4. Let God be true, and every man a liar. 1 Cor. i. 25. "The foolishness of God is wiser than men. Hath the holy "scripture, that is, hath God said it? They will believe, though "all men and angels contradict it." Vol. i. Acts of Athanasius, p. 4. In vol. ii. tract i. page 1, it is also shewn, that "it is not "true that unitarians prefer their reason before revelation." In the 2d tract of the same vol. p. 14, it is well remarked, that "the *pride* of understanding is not with those whose simple faith "is expressed in the very terms of scripture, but with those who "rely upon human expressions, taken out of pagan philosophy, "metaphysical arguments and abstractions, or remote conse-"quences." See also this notion of the *pride* of unitarians, and of their not humbling themselves to receive instructions from scripture, well refuted in the same volume, tract 4th. page 7.

"And is it not intolerable *presumption* for men to mould and "shape their religion according to their fancies and humours, "and to stuff it with an infinite number of orthodox proposi-"tions, none of which are to be found in express terms in scrip-"ture, but are only pretended to be *deduced* from thence by such "imaginary *consequences*, from some *little hints and appearances* of "things? Especially, is not this unpardonable in those men, "who cry down reason for such a profane and carnal thing, as "must not presume to intermeddle in holy matters, and yet lay "the foundation of their religion, and erect such glorious and "magnificent fabrics, on nothing else but some little *shews* and "*appearances* of reason?"

"But the plain truth is this; when men argue from the na-"ture of God, and his works and providences, from the nature

At the opening of this correspondence, I said that, though you had much to unlearn in the theory, I firmly believed you were by no means deficient in the practice of christianity. At the close of it I repeat my convictions, in spite of the drawbacks which here stare me in the face, and which proclaim aloud, that you have, for a while at least, forgotten that love of the brotherhood, and charity towards all mankind, which is the characteristic of a true christian, and have turned your back on the maxim of doing to others as you would that others should do unto you.

For the credit of our common religion, and more especially for the credit of those who think they

" of mankind, and those eternal notions of good and evil, and " the essential differences of things, that is, when men argue " from plain and undeniable principles, which have an immuta- " ble and unchangeable nature, and so can bear the stress and " weight of a just consequence, this is *carnal* reason; but when " men argue from fancies and imaginations which have no " stable nature, from some pretty allusions, and similitudes, and " allegories, which have no certain shape nor form, but what " every man's fancy gives them, this is sanctified and *spiritual* " reason; but why, I cannot imagine, unless that it so much " resembles ghosts and shadows, which have nothing solid and " substantial in them." SHERLOCK's *Knowledge of Jesus Christ*, p. 55. 8vo. 1674.

For high-church, orthodox, trinitarians, who first *forge*, or *utter*, knowing it to be *forged*, a creed without a word of scripture in it, and then say, if you " do not thus think of the trinity, " you shall perish everlastingly," to censure unitarians for not humbling themselves to receive instructions from scripture, is perfectly ridiculous. This is playing the part of father Paul in the Duenna, when " with rosy gills, round paunch, and greedy eye," he reprimands the poor half-starved porter for *gormandizing*.

have

have so learned Christ, as to see the *simplicity* of that religion, as the truth is in Jesus (Ephes. iv. 20, 21.), I hope, that among all the number of such as, on the authority of scripture, believe the holy Jesus to be *a mere man*, not one, whether Socinian (if any such there be in this kingdom), or otherwise, will be found to return your hard usage and ungenerous censures: but that they will be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might, will put on the whole armour of God, and trust in *that* to quench every fiery dart (Ephes. vi. 10, 11. 16), and will shew themselves, on this and on every other occasion, the genuine disciples of a master who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, (1 Pet. ii. 23.) Should any of them so far forget his profession as to follow the example you have here set him, it would give me a worse opinion of him and his cause, than all the aspersions which you have so liberally (though I trust, inadvertently), cast on the one and the other.*

* You probably were not aware that your censure upon *Socinians* would fall upon *Sir Isaac Newton*, and upon *Locke*, upon *Chillingworth*, and upon *Lardner*. As to *Chillingworth*, the writers of his life, in the new edit. of the Biographia Britannica, say; "Mr. Whitaker, in his "Origin of Arianism disclosed," pages "482–492, has produced a number of arguments to shew, that "Mr. Chillingworth, in the latter part of his life, became a So- "cinian. We acknowledge ourselves to be convinced by Mr. "Whitaker's testimonies and reasonings; and, therefore, retract "what we had before said upon the subject. The Socinians, "we apprehend, will be proud to have such a name as that of "Chillingworth ranked among them." Farther *Corrigenda* to the third volume of the Biographia; printed and published with the 5th volume, 1793, article *Chillingworth*. See also the Sidney papers,

Thus I have examined all that has been advanced by yourself and your correspondent, in support of your rule and your interpretations, and the doctrine derived from it, at greater length, I fear, it will be thought by the reader (if any besides yourself shall read these letters), than the occasion required. All competent and impartial judges, who will but weigh what you have written, in the balance of reason and scripture, will, of themselves, I am persuaded, find it sufficiently wanting, without my assistance.

But though, in this point of view, my labours may not seem to be very necessary, there is another, in which every man's labours are always seasonable and useful. It is beneficial for all men, at all times, to bear testimony to what they believe, after a careful inquiry, to be the true and genuine spirit of our most holy religion. Whether the call to illustrate and recommend this best and most valuable of God's blessings, be weak or strong, it is right to obey it. Whether the impediment that obstructs its influence be great or small, it is good to remove it.

In the days of our blessed master, and of his first followers, rites and ceremonies, the invention of

papers, published by Collins, vol. ii. p. 669, where Chillingworth is mentioned as having defended the socinian cause against Lord Falkland.

Yes; any party may be proud of any one of these names; the names of men, who, for powers of reasoning, for talents, for knowledge, for integrity, and for careful and diligent inquiry into the sense and meaning of scripture, have never been exceeded in any quarter of the globe.

scribes

scribes and pharisees, were, next to open and secret profligacy of life and manners, the grand impediments to their endeavours to make men good and happy. And accordingly both he and they took every opportunity of bearing their testimony against them. In our times and country, speculative doctrines and systems, the invention of theologians and schoolmen, have succeeded to the place of rites and ceremonies. And we should succeed to the efforts of those who founded our religion, in our constant endeavours to resist what now impedes its progress.

With the hope of doing what good I am able to do in this way, I have listened to the request of a much valued friend, and have embraced the occasion, by no means urgent in itself, which your Remarks, and your correspondent's letters have afforded me, of thus publicly declaring my settled conviction of a most important truth, which I have long since ascertained to my own satisfaction, by a diligent and careful study of the Bible; and which, as far as concerns any thing now advanced by yourself and your friend, I have here, at some length, confirmed and supported; namely, that MORAL AND PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY, IS THE ONLY CHRISTIANITY CONTAINED IN THE SCRIPTURES.

This is a truth which the meanest reader of his Bible, in spite of an imperfect translation, and under all the defects, and what is more against him, the preconceptions and *prejudices*, of his education, may behold blazing out with more than meridian splendour, if he will but read it, as all other writ-

ings

ings are read, as a *whole*, and be contented with what appears most plain and obvious on the face of every book, I think I may say of every page of every book which it contains. Yes; as a *whole*, the Bible, in these protestant countries, blessed be God for all his mercies, may still be seen, like him from whom it comes, the father of lights, the giver of every good and perfect gift, covered with light as with a garment. In this broad, comprehensive view of it, we may say emphatically of God's word, what the apostle says of God himself: the scripture is light, and in it is no darkness at all (1 John i. 5.) c. And if the eye of learning and criticism, which, with more curious, narrow, and confined attention, contemplates its subordinate, minuter parts, did but thoroughly purge itself from the thick film of theological prepossession, which far, very far, above every other cause, obstructs its sight, even the more obscure and ambiguous spots, which, like those in the sun, are lost amidst surrounding brightness, would then, though singly viewed, send forth their fainter rays of moral light; all absurd, unintelligible doctrines and mysteries, which sound divines now see, or rather fancy that they see, through a glass darkly; things seen to no end, or purpose, but to gender strifes and every evil work (2 Tim. ii. 23. Jam. iii. 16.) among men, and to make God the author of confusion (1 Cor. xiv. 33.), would utterly vanish; and no doctrine whatever would be visible in any part of the sacred volume, but that doctrine according to godliness (1 Tim. vi. 3.) which beams with such conspicuous lustre through the whole.

That

That you, and I, and every reader of this best of books, may daily see more and more of its pure and simple light, by daily applying more and more to that best of means for knowing what it teaches, the doing of the will of our heavenly father (John vii. 17.), and that our practice of its precepts may enlarge our knowledge of its contents, and our knowledge in return invigorate our practice, is the earnest wish of one who is persuaded that such knowledge and such practice will infallibly guide us all, and that nothing else ever will guide us, to true and lasting happiness.

I am, SIR,

With unfeigned respect,

Your well-wisher; and, if you will allow the appellation to one who believes *Jesus* to be '*nothing but a man*,' your fellow christian;

GREGORY BLUNT.

APPENDIX.

IN return for your editor's "*Table of evidences of* "*Christ's divinity,*" I beg leave, in order to shew him the *validity* of this mode of arguing by inference and deduction from detached passages and figurative expressions, to present him with the following

TABLE OF EVIDENCES

OF THE

DIVINITY OF MOSES.*

Moses may be proved to be God,

1. From his being expressly so called in Exod. vii. 1. iv. 16. by God himself. In this last passage what we render by *instead of*, is in he-

* For the details of the evidences in *his* table, your editor refers you to Dr. Whitby's Commentary. That is, he refers you to a commentator who, upon further and more mature inquiry, abandoned these details as mistaken interpretations, and declared, that he thought the doctrine for which Mr. Burgess here contends, was a *burlesque* upon the scriptures. For the ground-work of my table, I beg leave to refer you to "Some "Notes" of one who was a Master of Arts in the same University with Dr. Whitby and Mr. Burgess, who was more and more confirmed in unitarian opinions, the more he inquired into the scriptures, and who died in the full belief of these opinions, "a martyr to that religious intolerance which had persecuted "him during the greatest part of his life! His private charac- "ter, like that of most of those whose zeal has led them to suf- "fer for particular opinions, was exemplary. He was fervently "pious,

brew the prefix *lamed*, and so may be considered as equivalent to that expression in Phil. ii. 6. "in *the form of* God."

"pious, temperate, benevolent, and strictly moral. His learn-
"ing was considerable, and his powers of argument well cal-
"culated for making proselytes;" . . . . . "but he was not soli-
"citous to establish a perfect uniformity of sentiments, or to
"form a particular sect." Such is the character given of *John Biddle* (who has been called the *Father of the English Unitarians*, and who died Sept. 22, 1662, in the 47th year of his age, of a distemper brought on by close confinement and foul air), in the 2d vol. of General Biography, by Messrs. Aikin, Nicholson, and others, 4to. 1801.

This '*impious sadducee*,' was at one time so reduced in his circumstances by the rage and malice of his adversaries, or, by their zeal to do God service, shall we say? (John xvi. 2.) that all he could afford was a morning and an evening draught of milk, to keep himself from starving! And yet both he and they called shemselves, not only christians, but teachers of christianity! Were they both such? Then might those be christian teachers who should outdo Satan in his own way; for Satan doth not cast out Satan (Matt. xii. 26). Which then was the false, which the true teacher of christianity? which the wolf, which the sheep? Jesus himself has decided the question. "By
"their fruits ye shall know them." (Matt. vii. 20.) "By this
"shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love
"one to another." (John xiii. 35.)

These "Notes," the ground-work of the present *Table*, are to be seen in the first volume of Unitarian Tracts, 4to. 1691, at the end of Mr. Biddle's Testimonies from the fathers, pages 31, and 32.

I have several times brought forward these Old Tracts; but there is much good stuff in them, which still remains behind unnoticed. Give me leave, Sir, to recommend the whole to your attention. And, to strengthen my recommendation, I must tell you, that "there is good ground to believe," that

Mr.

Moses may be proved to be God;

2. From his declaring to the Israelites, in the most solemn manner, that his miracles were wrought for forty years together for this very purpose, " *that ye might know that I am*

Mr. Locke was one of the persons concerned in the writing of them. (See Bishop Law's preface, p. vi. and vii. to his edit. of Locke's Works, 1777, 4to.) It seems to have been chiefly with a view to these tracts also, that Archbishop Tillotson spoke so honourably and candidly of the Socinians, who, says he, "to " do them right, are generally a pattern of the fair way of dis- " puting, and of debating matters of religion, without heat and " unseemly reflections upon their adversaries. For the most " part they reason closely and clearly, with extraordinary guard " and caution, with great dexterity and decency, and yet with " smartness and subtilty enough: ..... and with few hard " words: virtues to be praised, wherever they are found, yea, " even in an enemy, and very worthy our imitation..... " Some who pretend to all the reason and subtilty in the world, " are in comparison of them but mere scolds and bunglers." And this testimony has the greater weight, because it comes from one who was no Socinian himself; but who wrote against their tenets. In this very place he calls their cause " weak, and " ill-founded:" and adds, " they have but this one great defect, " that they want truth on their side; which, if they had, they " have reason and wit, and temper enough to defend it." See Birch's Life of Tillotson, Appendix, No. 3; or Jortin's Tracts, 8vo. 1790. vol. i. p. 366, &c. The passage is in the second of the four sermons which the Archbishop preached upon John i. 14, and published in 1693, in defence of the divinity of Jesus. The Unitarians published a respectful examination of these four discourses, in 1694, which is to be seen in some " *Considera-* " *tions*, &c." in the third volume of these Unitarian Tracts. So that every reader may judge for himself which of the two causes was the weaker, and on which side the truth lay.

"*the* LORD" [Heb. *Jehovah*] "*your God*" Deut. xxix. 6.

It is true that in Exod xxxii. 1. Numbers xii. 3. Deut. xxxiii. 1. and other places, he is said to be a *man*: but that is not the *smallest* objection to his being *God*; because in Moses there were *two natures in one person*, he being perfect god and perfect man at the same time; a *godman*.

Moses may be proved to be God,

3. From the divine worship ascribed to him, he being the object of religious adoration, and invocation, and being prayed to, and that to forgive sin. Exod. xi. 8. [*bow down* in our version, is, in the original hebrew, and in the greek of the Septuag. *worship*.] Rev. xv. 3. Exod. x. 16, 17. Numb. xii. 11. See also Exod. xii. 27. xxxiii. 10. In the original text of these two last passages, there is nothing but *common sense* to point out any other object of the worship than Moses: and *common sense* always goes for nothing in all questions relating to a *godman*.

Moses may be proved to be God,

4. From the divine actions and attributes ascribed to him, he being

1. The creator of all things, Gen. i. 26. Here the plural number shews that more than one person was concerned in the creation of *man*: but no other person but God being expressly mentioned,

tioned, the second person can be no other than the writer of the account, the author of the book of Genesis, that is, Moses. And since he created man, the chief object, there can be no doubt that he created all inferior objects of the creation. And this is clearly affirmed in Rev., xv. 3. This appears also from the plural name (Elohim) for God, in Gen. i. 1. and elsewhere, from which it is clear that *heaven* and *earth* were created by more than one person, who certainly could be no other than God the father, and the God Moses; no others having been ever pointed out to the reader's notice, or so much as hinted at. See also for this use of the plural number, article 8.

These texts also prove the *pre-existence* of Moses.

2. Omnipotent, and the giver of rain in due season. Deut. xi. 13, 14.: he also maketh the grass to grow, Deut. xi. 15. which things are the peculiar characteristics of God. See Matt. v. 45. and Psalm civ. 14. The rod of Moses is also declared to be God's rod. Comp. Exod. iv. 2. 17. vii. 19. xiv. 16. Numb. xx. 11. with Exod. iv. 20. xvii. 9. Now the *rod* is the ensign of supreme power and sway. The

power and sway of Moses, therefore, is equal to, and the same as, that of God, that is, Moses is omnipotent.

3. Omniscient, Exod. ix. 30. Deut. xxxi. 29. The omniscience of Moses, also, as well as his pre-existence and power, appears from the whole account given in Genesis of the transactions from the creation: for if he were not omniscient, how could he know all these things? He no where makes mention of any records, nor of his receiving any supernatural communications from heaven. Some of the circumstances of the transactions, too, are of such a kind, so very minute, that they never enter into records, or form a part of history; nor is it at all probable that such things should be the objects of any inspiration communicated to man.

Moses may be proved to be God,

5. From other actions of Moses being said to be God's actions. Comp. Exod. xiv. 21. 27. with xv. 11, 12. and also comp. Exod. xxxii. 7. xxxiii. 1. with Exod. xx. 1, 2. Deut. v. 6. and comp. also Exod. xxxiv. 27, 28. with Exod. xxxiv. 1. Deut. x. 1, 2, 4. and comp. Deut. xxix. 5. where Moses says to Israel, "I have led you forty years in the wilder-"ness," with Deut. xxxii. 12. where it is said, "the Lord *alone* did lead him."

The moral law, or commandments of God, are

are said to be those of Moses: comp. Exod. xx. 1. 12. Matt. xv. 4. 6. Mark vii. 9. 13. with Mark vii. 10. and Exod. xx. 1. 13. with John vii. 19. Deut. xi. 13. and see also 1 John v. 3. Rom. xiii. 9. Mark xii. 29—31. The ceremonial law also is sometimes ascribed to God and sometimes to Moses, comp. Deut. vi. 17, 20, 24. xxxiii. 10. with Deut. xxxiii. 4. John i. 17. and Gen. xvii. 10—14. with John vii. 22. And Moses swears to give the Israelites the land of Canaan, and promises to be with Joshua when he should go to take possession of it. Deut. xxxi. 23. all which is said to be done by God, in verses 6—8 of the same chapter; and God declares himself to be the doer of it, in Josh. i. 5, 6, 9. And indeed Moses could not be the doer of it, unless he were God; because it was not to take place till after he, in his human nature, should be dead.

Moses may be proved to be God,

6. From its being said (Exod. xxxiii. 20.) by God himself, "there shall no *man* see me and live." And yet Moses not only saw God, but conversed familiarly with him, for "the Lord "spake unto Moses face to face, as a man "speaketh unto his friend," Exod. xxxiii. 11. And Moses survived the sight. Moses, therefore, must have been more than *man*. And the comparison of the conversation to that of one friend with another, proves the perfect equality between him and God. As to

what is said afterwards, verses 21—23, relative to another interview, when Moses was put in the clift of the rock, and covered with the hand of the Lord, on account of his being unable to bear the sight of his face, that is spoken of the human nature of Moses only.

Moses may be proved to be God,

7. From the celestial splendour of his countenance, which was so great that the Israelites could not steadfastly behold his face, so that he was obliged to put a veil upon it, while talking with them. Exod. xxxiv. 30—35. 2 Cor. iii. 7. 13. This circumstance, compared with the preceding article, is a clear proof of a divine nature in Moses. No man could see the face of *God* and live. Exod. xxxiii. 20. No man could see the face of *Moses* and live. Exod. xxxiv. 30, &c. What can be plainer? It is to be observed, too, that the brightness of these glories are *jointly* mentioned. The chapter which mentions the latter, *immediately* follows the chapter which mentions the former. So that they are both of the same kind, both *supreme*. The one was the express image of the other. In Moses dwelt all the fulness of the godhead bodily.

Moses may be proved to be God,

8. From his going up to heaven, and coming down from heaven. Exod. xix. 3. xx. 21. xxiv. 2. (and comp. verse 1.) 18. xix. 21, 24, 25. xxxii. 1, 7. Deut. ix. 12. and compare the language of these places with Gen. xvii.

xvii. 22. xxxv. 13. xl. 5, and 7. N. B. In this last place the plural number is used because the writer of the book, that is, Moses, was one of the persons. God, elsewhere, speaking to Moses in his pre-existent state, uses the plural number, in order to shew the equality between them: "and the Lord God "said" [to the writer of the book, for no mention whatever is made of any body else] "behold the man is become as one of *us*," Gen. iii. 22. See for this use of the plural number, the article 4. No. 1. above. The foregoing texts relating to Moses's coming down from heaven, shew also that when he is said, in such a solemn manner, to be *sent* from God, Exod. iii. 13—15, we are to understand his being sent from *heaven*. He was emphatically *the sent of God*.

Moses may be proved to be God,

9. From his being called *Lord*, in the highest sense of the word. Deut. xxix. 6. [In the Heb. it is *Jehovah*.] Exod. xxxii. 22. Numb. xii. 11. In these two places, the title being accompanied with *prayer*, shews it to be used in the highest sense. Numb. xi. 28. Here the sense of the words; "my *Lord* Moses forbid "them" is fixed, not only by their being used in supplication, but by the parallel expression, "*God* forbid," which often occurs, both in the Old and New Testament, as Genes. xliv. 7. 17, &c. Luke xx. 16. Rom. iii. 4. 6. 31, &c. Again, in Exod. xxxii. 26,

"who is on the *Lord's* side? let him come "unto *me*;" and in the 27th verse it is added, "Thus *saith* the *Lord* God of Israel . . . "... slay every man his brother," which, in the 28th verse is; "and the children of "Levi did according to *the word of Moses*, "and there fell of the people, &c." Again, Deut. x. 12. "what doth the *Lord* thy God "require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy "God;" but in Deut. vi. 13, we find that it was *Moses* who required this of them.

Moses may be proved to be God,

10. From his being ordered to say, which no doubt he did say, to the Israelites, "I AM "hath sent me unto you." Exod. iii. 14. For when he told them, that the God of their fathers had sent him unto them, and they asked, what is his name? and he replied, I AM, this is manifestly saying, that the name of God is Moses, which is the same thing as saying that God and Moses are one, *two persons in one nature*. If, instead of referring the question to the name of God, as seems to be implied in verse 13, we refer it to the action of sending, as mentioned in the 14th verse, it comes to the same thing: for, if a person be asked who it is that is doing any action, as for instance in this case of Moses being sent by God, if he were asked who is the sender? and he were to reply, I AM, the reply would certainly point to his own person. And no doubt it was intended so to do.

And

And in this consists the whole *mystery* of that name for God, which has so much puzzled the commentators. And I think we may safely *infer*, that when Pharaoh said to Moses, "who is the Lord?" Exod. v. 2, he would reply I AM; for though we are not expressly told so, we find God saying to Moses, soon after, Exod. vii. 1. "See, I have made thee "a God to Pharaoh;" and we read, Exod. xi. 8, that Pharaoh and all his servants were about to bow down themselves [Heb. and Sept. *worship*] to Moses.

It is no objection to this exposition, that it makes the person sending, to be the same with the person sent; and Moses to be both God and the messenger, or minister, of God. No orthodox expositor ever gives up an exposition for any trifle of this sort, as may be seen in Mr. Lindsey's Examination of Robinson's Plea, p. 178. Nay, this is a recommendation to the exposition, as it not only makes it more of a *mystery*, proving more clearly *two to be one*, and *one to be two*; but also ranks this passage with those others, Zech. ii. 8, 9. "Thus saith the Lord of hosts "..... ye shall know that the Lord of "hosts hath sent me." Zech. iii. 2. "The "Lord" (Heb. Jehovah) "said unto Satan, "The Lord" (Heb. Jehovah) "rebuke thee, "O Satan." Genes. xix. 24. "The Lord," (Heb. Jehovah) "rained fire from the Lord" (Heb. Jehovah) "out of heaven." 2 Tim. i. 18,

i. 18. "The Lord grant that he may find "mercy of the Lord in that day," which some of the orthodox have dignified with the title of *loca efficacissima*, in settling the doctrine of a godman. (See the Unitarian Tracts, 4to. 1691. vol. i. tract *Brief Hist. of Unitarians*, p. 15. 21.) And it confirms this reasoning from Exod. iii. 14, to prove the divinity of Moses, that this very kind of language is elsewhere unequivocally applied to Moses: "The Lord commanded my Lord "to give the land," &c. Numb. xxxvi. 2.

Moses may be proved to be God,

11. From his being the *Son* of God. All advocates for a godman hold, that the *son* of God is God himself, though they deny that the *son* is the *father*, because that would be to "confound the persons" of the godhead. This is a *mystery*; but that is so much the better, as long as it is *orthodox*. Now that Moses was the *son* of God, appears clearly from Hosea xi. 1. "I called my son out of "Egypt," compared with Exod. iii. 4. Heb. xi. 27. Commentators, I know, understand the words in Hosea as spoken of the whole body of the Israelites; but then it ought to have been plural, *my sons*: or, if it means them all, yet Moses was one, and the most distinguished one of them. Or it may refer to Moses primarily, and to the nation secondarily, and that may be the reason for using the singular number in the particular connection

nection and context in which it stands in Hosea. But I think it most agreeable to the *analogy of the faith*, to understand the word *son*, of an individual, and that individual to be Moses; because, nobody was ever so emphatically called, in such a particular way, as he was, Exod. iii. 4, nor called so truly *out* of Egypt. For he himself was *out* of Egypt at the time and place when and where the call was made. The call itself, twice repeated, was *out* of the midst of the bush, which bush was *out* of Egypt; and it was made for the purpose of his finally quitting that country, and not only of his coming *out* of it himself, but of bringing reluctantly *out* of it for ever, all his countrymen, who can never be considered as coming *out* of it, any otherwise than they came *out* through him, because they never came voluntarily, and were often clamorous to be led back again. But Moses was called *out* of Egypt in every sense of the word, and so is here styled the *son* of God. And that he was the *son of man*, I suppose all will allow. Exod. ii. 1, 2. And so he had a divine and a human nature.

Moses may be proved to be God,

12. From the *mysterious* circumstances attending his birth, death, and resurrection. No man ever so completely experienced the *new birth* as he did; for, after he was born once, he was born again, and became the son of a second mother. Exod. ii. 10. When he died, he

he was buried by the Lord, which, perhaps, from what we have before seen, may mean himself. However that be, no man could ever find his sepulchre. Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6. And that he came to life again, appears from Matt. xvii. 3. And it seems from Deut. xxxiv. 7, as if he had this life in himself; and to confirm this, we are no where told that *God* raised him from the dead, but, on the contrary, that God *buried* him. He also wrote the account of his own death, for he wrote the book of Deuteronomy, in which we read that account. No *man*, nor I think any other being, except a *godman*, could be capable of doing this. To *such* a being, nothing can be easier. He relates in his divine nature, what he undergoes in his human nature. It is said, in Jude 9, that "Michael "the archangel contended with the devil "about the body of Moses." This I think every body must see to be a symbolical representation of the two natures in Moses contending with each other: the one, the divine, which was heavenly, spiritual, angelic; the other, the human, which was "earthly, "sensual, devilish." Jam. iii. 15. Jannes and Jambres too (2 Tim. iii. 8.), who are such mysterious personages, that the commentators could never find out who they were, or properly identify their existence, seem, some how or other, to typify the opposition made to Moses in his *twofold* capacity: whether they

are

are to be considered as types or anti-types, I do not take upon me to decide, having but little skill in that sort of theology.

Moses may be proved to be God,

13. From its being blasphemy and sin of the highest kind to speak against Moses. Acts vi. 11. Numb. xxi. 5, 7. Observe, that in the text from the Acts, the words *Moses* and *God* are joined together in the same case, by the copulative και, and that the preposition εις, which is prefixed to the first noun, is omitted before the second; and, therefore, by Mr. Sharp's rule, which I have shewn to be equally applicable to prepositions as to articles, (see Letter the second, page 32.), *Moses* and *God* refer to the same person. Observe too, that *Moses* stands first, a circumstance which, the fathers as well as some of their sons, consider as going a great way towards proving a person to be equal with God. In the two passages from Numbers, Moses being mentioned '*jointly*' with God, the *sin* 'most certainly amounts to *supreme*,' i. e. to blasphemy.

Moses may be proved to be God,

14. From the Israelites *believing in* him, in the same manner as they did in the Lord. Exod. xiv. 31.; and from the Lord's coming down from heaven, for the express purpose of making them so *believe in* Moses *for ever*. Exod. xix. 9. Our version has *believe* only, in these passages; but in the hebrew it is *believe in*.

Moses may be proved to be God,

15. From his having a *prophet*. Exod. vii. 1. Now there are no prophets mentioned in scripture but those of the Lord, or those of a false God. Moses, therefore, not being a false God, must be the true. Also, from his having *angels* and *ministers* at his command. Numb. xx. 14. Deut. ii. 26. Exod. xxiv. 13. Josh. i. 1. In our common version the two first texts read *messengers*, but in the hebrew the words, in all the four texts, are the very same as those in Psal. civ. 4. So that if we could but get a 'corrected version,' by some good, sound, *believer*, we should here have some 'new proofs' and 'testimonies in fa-'vour of' Moses's '*divine nature*, which 'ought not to be with-held from the mere 'english reader.' (Sharp's Rem. p. 44.)

Moses may be proved to be God,

16. From the Israelites being baptized into [εις, the same as in Matt. xxviii. 19.] Moses. 1 Cor. x. 2. To be baptized into any one, is the same as to be baptized into his name, as appears clearly from comparing Rom. vi. 3. Gal. iii. 27, with Acts ii. 38. viii. 16. Now, all *sound* divines hold,* that he into whom, or into whose name, any one is baptized, be-

* And among these, the present bishop of London, Dr. Porteus, who has unadvisedly asserted, that the baptismal form (Matt. xxviii. 19), is "one principal ground of the doctrine of "the trinity." See his Lectures, vol. ii. p. 335. If this be the *principal* ground, may we not ask—what can be the *weak* ground?

comes

comes a God instantly, though nothing further be there said about his being God; and, that if more than one person be mentioned, they are all equal to each other, though nothing further be said about any such equality; and in particular, that if three be mentioned, such is the magic of that wonderful number, that though each be God, and each equal to the other, they are altogether but one God, or in other words that, in that case, *three is one*, and *one is three*, and there is not the smallest difference whatever between *three* and *one*; and whoever says there is, will be damned to all eternity.

IF it be objected to any of these proofs, that they involve a *contradiction* in them, and attempt to establish an absurdity; I have to reply, that the thing is a *mystery*, and is not to be judged of by human reason. How many things are there on earth which our narrow faculties cannot comprehend, and yet they are true nevertheless? And if this be the case in earthly things, how much more in heavenly things? God's ways are not like our ways; his wisdom is not like our wisdom. That may be true in heaven which is an absurdity and a contradiction upon earth. "*Dare you*, who experience" your own ignorance of every thing around you? "*Dare you* pre-" sume in the face of this experience to assert," &c. "*Dare you*, the child of a day, affect to measure?" &c.

&c. "*Dare you*, who cannot examine . . . . . *dare* "*you* take upon you?"* &c. &c. &c.

If it be objected to some of the proofs, that they are only slight *hints* and *intimations*, *deductions* and *consequences*; I can answer with the late Dr. Randolph, and many other writers, that these things are delivered with great *caution* and *reserve* in the scriptures, for fear of leading the Jews, surrounded as they were with heathens, into idolatry. Or I can say, with Mr. Hawkins, that "if the divinity of "Moses was the doctrine of the church, previously "to the publication of the holy writings, they are "sufficiently full and explicit for the satisfaction or "confirmation of christians of all ages; if otherwise "here" [in the scriptures] "is more than enough "to perplex and misguide them, and to lead them "into errors of the first magnitude."†

If it be objected, that some things which I have understood literally, are mere *figurative* expressions; I answer, with all sound divines, that if this method of explaining scripture *figuratively* be once admitted, there is no knowing where it will stop. Every

* See "Gisborne's Familiar Survey of the Christian Reli-"gion," p. 299, 300. first edit. 8vo. 1799. This writer is uncommonly *daring* for whole pages together, and then throws it all upon his reader, who, perhaps, poor man, never dared to do any thing of the kind imputed to him, though he *may* have *dared* to believe Jesus, *upon his own word* (John xvii. 3.), not to be *God*. Many a humble christian, upon reading this heroic fustian, which would do honour to the pope of Rome, will scarcely dare to say his soul is his own; that *three* is not *one*; that a *man* is not *God*; or that a *piece of bread* is not *Jesus Christ!*

† Hawkins's Bampton Lectures for 1787, p. 59.

mystery

mystery whatever, all that is valuable in the Bible, may be explained away, and our whole religion reduced to a mere metaphor. We shall have nothing left but heathenish morals, nothing but the love of God and our neighbour, and the whole system of our faith will be contemptible and ridiculous.

And now, having produced so many 'plain, full, 'and unquestionable proofs,'* so many 'explicit de- 'clarations,'* so many 'substantial and unanswer- 'able arguments,'* and having moreover obviated all objections; I think it cannot, without partiality, be denied, that I have 'happily and decisively ap- 'plied' my labours 'to the perfect establishment of 'the great doctrine in question, the divinity of'* Moses. Q. E. D.

* See Mr. Sharp's Remarks, pages 9, 12, 22, 30, 38, 54, and Mr. Burgess's Dedication and Advertisement to the first edit. p. v. and x.

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SHOULD any serious reader of the foregoing *Appendix* think that I have made too free with the holy scriptures, and feel himself hurt on that account, I beg that he will do me the justice to impute that freedom, not to me, but to those *orthodox* writers, as they are called, from whom I have copied it so closely, that I defy them to point out where I have deserted their footsteps. I agree with Dr. Whitby that such doctrines and such proofs are a burlesque upon the scriptures. But the burlesque is not mine, but their's. If it appears more evident and striking in what I have written, than in what they have written, it is merely because the *application* of the reasoning is unusual in one case, and habitual in the other, and not because there is any difference in the reasoning itself, or in the mode of dealing with the scriptures; for there is not the least. Nothing can be more contrary to the whole design and spirit of the sacred writings than both their conclusions and mine; nothing more absurd than the method of arriving at them. What I have written has been penned on purpose to prevent all such burlesquing of scripture. And if the orthodox could be persuaded to put their burlesques into the fire, it would give me great pleasure to see this Appendix thrown in after them.

I have studied the scriptures long and much. I know their value, and revere them above all other writings.

writings. From a thorough examination, I am firmly and fully persuaded that they contain a true and faithful account, the Old Testament of one revelation, and the New of another, in both of which God miraculously interposed for the *sole* purpose of making men strict and exemplary in their duty to him, and to all his creatures; by convincing them that, with such conduct, they are sure of being happy for ever, and sure of being for ever miserable without it.

While I retain these sentiments—and they are now so fixed that I am confident I shall retain them as long as I retain my senses—every reader may be assured that I shall do nothing to lessen, but on the contrary all in my power to increase, all due and proper veneration for the sacred records. Such, therefore, is the sole design, and such, I hope and trust, will be the sole effect, of the preceding *Appendix*.

FINIS.

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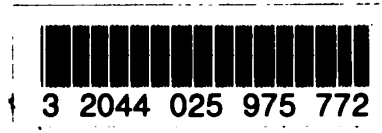
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